Thursday, August 28, 1997/Bhadra 6, 1919 (Saka)

The Lok Sabha met at Eleven of the Clock

[MR. SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

[English]

SHRI BASU DEB ACHARIA (Bankura): Sir, the entire banking industry is at a standstill.

MR. SPEAKER: No, please.

SHRI BASU DEB ACHARIA: 1.3 million employees are on strike for two days.

MR. SPEAKER: Not now. In the course of the debate, somebody can mention it but not as a special case.

ANNOUNCEMENT RE: BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE

11.01 hrs.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: I am to inform the House that a large number of Members of Parliament met me yesterday expressing their desire to participate in the debate. I had quick consultations with some of the leaders of the political parties. So, we will sit tonight as long as it is required in order to enable all the Members to participate in this debate.

SHRI P. UPENDRA (Vijayawada): It will be another Midnight Session!

MR. SPEAKER: Yes. It has to be beyond midnight.

For your information, Shri Srikanta Jena, our Minister of Parliamentary Affairs, has kindly agreed to organise dinner for all the Members here.

SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE (Dumdum): But he is not arranging for our breakfast tomorrow.

SHRI P.R. DASMUNSI (Howrah): Instead of Midnight Session, can you not extend it up to Saturday?

SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE: On Saturday and Sunday, there are two meetings of the SAARC.

MR. SPEAKER: The choice was to extend it by one day more or sit during the whole night. Many leaders of the political parties have already fixed up engagements for Saturday. So, it was decided that instead of extending the session by one day, we will sit for the whole night.

11.03 hrs.

MOTION RE: STATE OF DEMOCRACY AND DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS, ECONOMIC SITUATION, POSITION OF INFRASTRUCTURE, ACHIEVEMENTS AND POTENTIAL IN THE FIELD OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY AND STATE OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT IN THE COUNTRY—***Contd.***

SHRI P.V. NARASIMHA RAO

[English]

SHRI P.V. NARASIMHA RAO (Berhampur): Mr Speaker, Sir, I am indeed very grateful to you. We are all grateful to you for having given us during these few days this very rare opportunity of discussion something which, somehow, has not been discussed in the spirit in which it needs to be discussed. And I see that the days are prolonging; the hours are prolonging. Therefore, the urge to speak is getting increased every minute. So, I expect that we will end this session with something meaningful, something that is actionable apart from what we express as our opinion. We come to certain tentative conclusions in regard to what needs to be done immediately and also in the medium term.

I have chosen a subject which, I think, has not been touched upon so far but which is of great importance to the world in general and, therefore, to India and to each one of us. I shall not repeat what has been said because that is

hardly necessary. I shall go straight to what I have to say. It so happens that we are in the fiftieth year of Independence.

That is the special significance for India. But there is an equally special significance for other countries and the world as a whole and if this confluence of coincidences is to be taken into account, these two or three years before the next century are, without doubt, the most important, the most crucial in the life of all nations of the world.

We are at the confluence of two millennia. Do we remember what the year 1000 AD was like? Do we have anything authentic to say that the world looked like this? We have nothing except small fragments of who ruled where because history unfortunately has always consisted of rulers and said nothing about the ruled.

So, that mistake should not be committed at the end of this millennia and people are already thinking very deeply in futuristic terms. What happened in the 20th century is known to all of us. We have passed through it; we are still passing through it. What do we expect in the next century or in the next millennia to come or to be in store for us? This is what thinkers all over the world are thinking.

Sir, the most important aspect of our domestic, foreign, international—call it what you like—or of our existence is disarmament today. Nuclear disarmament is a 'must' for the survival of the world. This is known; this is admitted; this is acknowledged but this is not acted upon. We do not see any symptoms of its being acted upon sincerely. I am saying this because we know what happened to the CTBT; we know what happened to the NPT and for the last 50 to 60 years, our Governments have been struggling for this. Even before India became free, Mahatma Gandhi expressed himself in most unequivocal terms about the ghastly results of nuclear wars, about the need for non-violent behaviour on the part of the nations, about the need to eschew violence and all this is known to us. But this has not happened. This is not likely to happen just like that because after the extension of the NPT, indefinite extension, and after the CTBT has been rammed down the throats of the countries—it is good that we did not allow that to happen with us—even after that there is no incentive for taking real and meaningful steps in the direction of nuclear disarmament.

There is something hilarious to know that before the Cold War ended, the nuclear power States had enough nuclear weapons to blow up the entire globe 20,000 times. The improvement after the end of the Cold War is that, according to statisticians, they will be able to blow up the world 3,000 times now. It is a great improvement from 20,000 to 3,000. But what is the improvement to the mankind as a whole? If we are once annihilated we do not have to wait for 2,999 times to see what happens because we will not be there then! So, this is something totally unreal. They are doing it because they want to bring their own arsenals down for their own mutual satisfaction and individual security. They are not doing it for the world. They are not doing it for this vast humanity who have no hand at all in taking these decisions. So, someone has to tell them that whatever they might say, whatever they might do, mankind is not prepared to become their gun fodder. We will have to fight it out, not with guns because we do not have them. The public opinion, opinion of more than 110 countries in the non-aligned and the general public in those countries where the stockpiles are existing, everyone on the face of the earth can be an ally in this and this is what we have to do.

I have been thinking about this, speaking about this, urging this in many councils of the world but for the last three or four years I have become a little alarmed about why this has not happened. Let us understand it. After the Cold War, the nuclear weapon States have no one to fear. They have enough nuclear weapons, as I just described, even if it comes to 300 times or 30 times, they are still in possession of enormous material of destruction. Now, why are they not really talking in terms of say 50 years—60 years or 100 years, I do not mind—for total elimination of nuclear weapons? Shri Rajiv Gandhi wanted it to be done by 2010. I thought it would be possible even earlier because the end of the Cold War would facilitate this. Nothing of the kind has happened. Why? There must be some reason. No reason is being adduced but accidentally by reading, by trying to understand what is working in their minds, what is the new mind-set, I have stumbled into something which I would like to share with the House.

The scenario of the next century, next millennium, although it is mysterious to all of us, it is not mysterious to some figures in these advanced countries. They think that now there is not going to be any ideological warfare. What they think is, now that the Cold War has ended, international politics is moving out of its Western phase. From now on the core of global politics will be the interaction, that is conflict in other words, between the West and non-Western cultures. They have already drawn the battle lines. We were thinking that no battle lines can be drawn now. The Cold War is over once for all and, therefore, we will have nothing except peace in the world, the international peace, cooperation and what all we have been dreaming here. The dream has been punctured by saying that there is going to be a confrontation. There is going to be a conflict and that is not a conflict between the East and the West but that conflict is going to be the West *versus* the rest. Therefore, how can the Western powers divest themselves of nuclear weapons? They cannot. They say that the people today want the benefits of modernity and the identity provided by

their own culture and values. What is wrong about it? They find that because other people are going to insist on retaining their own cultures, there is going to be a cultural confrontation between these three.

The configuration that has been shown in the book is, on one side you have Christianity—although I do not know what he wants to happen for the Christians of Africa, for the Christians of India, for the Christians of Burma, Christians of non-Western world because when you say 'the West versus the rest', whether you are a Christian, or a Muslim or a Hindu or whatever, you fall in the non-Western sphere and not in the Western sphere. But, they have monopolised the Christian Cross for the West. This is one fallacy. The other they have taken as Islam. Islam, they think, is going to be the main adversary in this. And the third is the Confucianism, the Hindu religion, the Buddhist religion, the Jainist religion and all the rest. So, they have lumped together all the rest. And they say that this is going to be the confrontation.

> "World politics is being configured, re-configured along cultural lines with new patterns of conflict and cooperation replacing those of the cold war. The hot spots..."

Here is the most interesting thing which we as Indians would be amused at. But then, they seem to be very serious about it.

> "The hot spots in world politics are on the fault lines between civilisations, witness—the fighting in Bosnia, Chechnya, the Transcaucasia, Central Asia, Kashmir, the Middle-East, Tibet, Sri Lanka, Sudan and many other places."

So, according to this thinking, what is happening in Kashmir is a clash of civilisations. How do we appreciate this? How do we assess this? And still, this is going to be the basis for policy-making in the next century. If I say so, I think, I am not making any exaggeration because the gentleman who has written this book and given this scenario about four years ago, which I had the occasion to debunk when it came in the shape of an article in a magazine. I debunked it at Devos and told them, "Nothing of this kind is going to happen in India. If you think that the next programme in India is going to be only fight between Hindus and Muslims and Christians and one caste and another caste, this is not going to happen. You will find these things written in the newspapers now and then. But you do not know how peaceful Indians are. The 96 crore of Indians are not fighting every day, every minute. So, your money will be safe, please do not go by this kind of prognosis."

And who is the man? He was the Coordinator of Security and Planning for the National Security Council in a recent United States Government. I am not saying that this book has been taken as the Bible. I am not saying that this is taken as the basis of real immediate policies. I am only saying as to what is happening in the think-tanks of the country which can make the difference between war and peace, the difference between existence and non-existence for the whole world.

So, who is to take up this matter? Is it those who have willy-nilly signed wherever they were asked to sign? They cannot take up this matter. Someone has to, and that is India. We have been taking up these matters right from the beginning whether anyone liked it or not. Therefore, I would like to tell the Prime Minister, I would like to tell the Government of India, Please keep up the tradition of going it alone, if necessary. *Ekla chalo*, but say what is right. If you cannot, then you will be the cause, the immediate cause, of the annihilation of the world.

I am not making any prognosis. I am making the comment on the possible prognosis made by those who matter. This is my submission, Sir. So, if the world has to survive, something needs to be done; something needs to be done to debunk these theories that there are already battle lines drawn, hot lines drawn, and therefore there is no question of any one abjuring nuclear weapons and there is no question of allowing anyone else to make weapons. Positively, they are not going to abjure; negatively, they are not going to allow you and others who want to make nuclear weapons for their own security, to do that. So, on both positive and negative sides, the policy seems to be coming out, shaping up in the manner in which they wanted. I would like to say that India will have to be taking a very important role and a very crucial role in again doing whatever is possible for nuclear disarmament all over the world. I am not talking of so many years; I am not talking of a time-frame, but there has to be a time-frame. The time-frame can be long, but it has to be given a time-frame. This is the first point which I would like to impress on our Government today.

Sir, at the end of the 20th Century, a galaxy of thinkers ware saying things which sometimes made us happy, but sometimes also made us see how Mahatma Gandhi was almost a century ahead of his time. He said those very things but no one listened to him including ourselves. Today, Gandhi's voice is coming from different throats. He is no more. But the same voice is coming from different people who count, whose opinions count. If I read one of the comments and do not tell you who has said this, each one of us will say this is Mahatma Gandhi himself. No, it is not Mahatma Gandhi; it is not hundred years ago, this was said

in the last two or three years that at the end of the 20th century, irrespective of what Mahatma Gandhi said, because it is relevant today. They are not saying this because of Mahatma Gandhi. When he said it, they did not bother. But now, they are saying exactly the same things because after a hundred years of war and Cold War, the kind of consumerism, the vulgar consumerism, that is really eating into the vitals of all these nations, they find that all this has been a waste. I am quoting Sir—Infact, if State, party and social policy will not be based on morality, then mankind has no future to speak of. Does it not sound typically hundred per cent like a Gandhian statement? "If the politics of a State or the conduct of an individual is guided by a moral compass, this turns out to be not only the most humane but in the long run, the most prudent behaviour for ones own future. We allowed ourselves; we allowed our wants to grow unchecked—again what Gandhiji had said—and are now at a loss where to direct them and with the obliging assistance of commercial enterprises, newer and yet newer wants are being created, being concocted, some of them are wholly artificial and we chase them *en masse* but find no fulfillment."

Then, about environment, it is said "All hope cannot be pinned on science, technology and economic growth." These are the three gods that we have been worshipping in the Twentieth century.

"The victory of technological civilisation has also instilled spiritual insecurity in us. Its gifts enrich but enslave us as wall. Let us admit that even in a whisper and only to ourselves. In this bustle of life at breakneck speed, what are we living for?" What are we living for, is a question to which these thinkers have come after decades and decades and decades of what they called progress. Now they do not know what to do. They do not know where they are; they do not know what they are living for. He says: "It is up to us to stop seeing progress as a stream of unlimited blessings and to view it rather as a gift from the high sent down for an extremely intricate trial of our own free will." It is not for indulgence but it is a test of how our free will works in spite of all these difficulties.

Then, Sir, look at the phraseology that these great thinkers are using. If people like us would have used these words, we would have been very severely criticised. I have no doubt about that.

He says: "Ugly new ulcers have surfaced from years of torment, for instance, the current nascent capitalism"—this gentleman is not a Communist; he is a confirmed anti-Communist—"fraught with unproductive savage and repulsive forms of behaviour and the plunder of the nation's wealth, the likes of which the West has not known. This, in turn, has even brought an unprepared and unprotected populace to a nostalgia for the "equality in poverty" of the past." This is a very-very telling sentence. Let us be equal. Let us be all poor. Let us not get into this new race which has brought us to this pass. This is what they say. I can go on reading but there is no need.

The question now is, if these gentlemen have said today what Mahatma Gandhi said 90 or 100 years ago and if you take into account what he said in South Africa, even more than 100 years, what do we do about it? We should be very clear about it because if we are talking about the future, if we are talking about the next millennium, we will have to understand what is the trend of the next millennium going to be; what are we going to face in this country? If we are still not clear or at least to some extent clear as to what we want to do, then, I am afraid, we will be simply groping like this. Others will steal a march over us but we will remain more or less in the dark.

Now, Sir, the Cold War created not only a confrontation between the so called East and the West but many dualities were also created what we call *dwandwas*. The duality between the individual and the society; the duality between the public and the private; the duality between the *status quo* and pro-change; and the duality between orthodox and liberal; all these have come and they have been rubbing shoulders with each other. They do not seem to have seen the end of this duality.

I would like to submit that for thousands of years all these dualities have been subsumed in the Indian philosophy. We have specialised in solving these dualities, these *dwandwas*—the relation between the society and the individual is clear to India, to Indians and to the Indian mind. This is no mystery at all. We feel it in our bones, even if we cannot describe it in language. We live it. We live this duality having been resolved in the most beautiful manner and the most useful manner for the society. It was said *sangham sharnam gachchami*. Now that is the ultimate, that is not the beginning. *Dharmam, buddham* and all these stages you pass and finally you go to the society and that is the supreme.

Now, our civilisation has resolved all these because we built the middle path, the *madhya marg*. We have always said *'ati sarvatra varjayate'*, just one small maxim *'ati sarvatra varjayate'*, the middle path. The first, perhaps, was expounded by Buddha. Then, today, see how many of India's policies are following the middle path. What is the mixed economy?

Today, after the Cold War ended, the President of one very important Communist country, when he came here, said: "We do not know how to run a shop". They knew

many things, science, technology and everything, but they do not know how to run a shop. If we know something, we know how to run a shop better than many people because in the *Varnashram,* it is there for thousands of years. It may be bad today. We want to throw it out of the window, we are throwing it out of the window. But the fact remains that our history, our civilisation has taken care of all these things.

What is Non-Alignment? Is Non-Alignment something which was born in 1961? No. Non-Alignment is a child of the middle path. When did we adumbrate it? May be thousands of years ago. But in modern times, the Indian National Congress passed a resolution on Non-Alignment in 1946, one full year before we became free. Let me also say that the difference between freedom on the one hand and independence on the other is coming into bold relief with every passing day. We used them interchangeably. Sometimes we said independence, sometimes we said freedom. But today, I am afraid, in respect of any country it is not possible to dogmatically say that every country which is politically free is also independent.

We see this scenario of almost every country in the world, politically free. We should not be saying anything about other countries, but if you go and look a little more carefully, you will find that that country is not necessarily independent.

We have seen examples, instances of this. So what we really take by the middle path is the freedom to stick to our ideas. We may not always be right. We are prepared to be convinced. We are open to be convinced but we are not going to be convinced in advance. That is what independence means. Yes, I am with you. Therefore, whatever you say I may. That kind of thing we have not accepted. In this millennium, we have not accepted it. So in this coming millennium, we will have to highlight this; we will have to underscore this as never before because India is going to be one of the few countries able to do it. Panditji said: "There are many countries in the world but India has a particular place". It was not because he was a chauvinist. He was not. He gave the argument. Yes, the United States, Soviet Union and China, are three examples, which can stand on their own. And the fourth, he said is 'India'. Not yet, not on the day he said it, but he said it as a *Bavishya Drishta*, He said: "If there is going to be any country apart from these three countries which can get its voice heard, stand on its feet, stand on its own civilization, its own strength of conviction, it is India". So, shall we really lose ourselves in our petty difficulties? Yes, of course, every country, every nation passes through these ups and downs. But if we do not have something to look for, something to strive for in the coming millennium, I think we are going to be doomed and, perhaps, India will not keep its place in the comity of nations, the important place, which it has.

Now, Sir, let us go to the next point which is extremely important from our position today. Gandhiji gave us three-four things. How many have we accepted? I do not see anything that we have accepted from Gandhiji. We have instituted a Gandhi Prize for people who have experimented with Gandhian ideas, not just these who have written books on Gandhiji. No. Those are the kinds of people we want.

While we formulated the criteria, we said it is time that Gandhi who has been read extensively and written upon extensively, is also acted upon. It does not matter how much. But the effort is important. After all he started efforts on what he believed. That is how he started. He did not only preach and keep quiet. Therefore, the Gandhi Prize which is on par with the Noble Peace Prize is meant for those who are implementing even one idea of Gandhi actually in the field. That is the kind of people we want. That is the only way of expanding Gandhism. As every other method of reconciliation, war, peace, proximity talks and all kinds of methods of solving problems became a failure, as each method failed, the world is pushed one millimeter closer to Gandhiji. Now we have given a shot in the arm to this process of making Gandhism real, finding out what exactly his image was by way of human life, and potential role by way of changes in the life of nations. That is what the then Government of India has done. I think that is a good thing that had been done for the world and for Gandhiji.

Now, what have we taken from Gandhi? We could not take non-violence because we have special problems. Gandhiji also understood that we could not take non-violence at once. He understood it. He also said that he does not expect non-violence to become a method of solving problems immediately. He took a long time-frame. So, if there is going to be an invasion, let us say on India, I am all for fighting the invader with arms, he said. Panditji said: "I do not believe non-violence as a creed". We were students in those days. We went through a lot of discussions. We heard people talk pro and con and all that, somebody saying that non-violence was a creed, others saying that non-violence could only be a policy whose efficacy had to be proved. Panditji held this view. You can see here the enormous difference in the approaches of Gandhiji on the one hand and of Panditji on the other hand. But, at the same time, Gandhiji also gave a caveat that he was not asking for non-violence to be implemented *in toto* immediately. Therefore, in the short run, Gandhiji and Jawaharlalji both coincided actually so far as the governmental action was concerned.

What else? Non-violence in the sense of doing away with armed forces is not feasible at the moment and we

cannot take it. Can we take, let us say small scale industries? These are very practical small scale industries. Now, what is the advantage? The immediate advantage is that there is an ally who is coming to you and that ally is the environmentalist. When Gandhiji said this, the environmentalists was not there on the scene, at any rate prominently. Government was there but the person was not there—the force of the environmentalist was not available at that time when Gandhiji advocated these small scale industries because he took the idea from ancient India, from our own history, from our own culture. Therefore, he was on sound grounds and there is no doubt about that. But, today as I said there is another ally environmentalist. When we take employment as an economic activity, the conundrum of the right technology confronts us. If we take to gigantism to obtain economies of scale, we accept sophisticated technology which replaces man with the machine accentuating unemployment and imposing heavy social costs and causing ecological degradation. These are obvious things. On the other hand, if we inevitably accept the rout of large-scale employment with old technology and low wages, the large maess of people as well as their economic activity, including the product thereof will remain at a primitive level in quality.

These are the two horn of the dilemma on which we find ourselves. Today we have to solve this problem. Gandhiji did not solve it. He urged on 'small industries' for various reasons which cannot be controverted. They are all valid reasons, but still they have not been accepted. Today, whether it is America or Germany or any other country, they are facing the same problems of gigantism. What happens to the thousands and thousands of people who become rootless? You have a township. The township is full of slums. They come from their villages. They have no one to look to. Each one is an island in himself. He is totally alienated from society and from his roots. What is the social cost? Has anyone calculated the social cost? If we do, then we will find that this gigantism and the economy of scale are not worth having. What about the new diseases he falls a prey to? How much money shall we have to spend in getting him cured, which we do not anyway? So, this problem has to be solved by us.

I have here a suggestion. We are talking about science and technology. Very well! We are proud of our scientists, technologists, to. But may I submit in all humility that our scientists and technologists are doing exactly what the advanced countries are doing because our people go and work there very well. They are all in good positions there; we are happy about it. But to what extent they have brought their skills, their science, their technological innovations to bear on our problems here? That is the question. We will have to throw this challenge to them. I am not criticising. Having given them all the encouragement that is needed, now the country has a right to expect something from them. And what is that? I would like to define it, if possible. Obviously, both these positions are unacceptable that is, we cannot have gigantism on one hand and we cannot have absolute primitivism on the other. So, we will have to find another middle path for this. Now there are six factors involved in any industry—size, environmental acceptability, cost, quality, technology and employment potential. We cannot perhaps have a seventh. I have made some deep study. To me it appears that these are the six. These are variables. In one industry, you may have a big size, in another it may be small, etc. etc. Now, what is the algebric formula? The question is, there are some constants and some variables. Which is the variable on which you have the scope to work? This I think the students of mathematics can easily understand. Now, let us eliminate the factors one by one. Environmental acceptability is a must, whether it is a big one or a small one, whatever its size. No one is going to *bakhsho* you on environmental requirement because you are a small sized. No. If the environmental safety is endangered, out you go. That will have to be made absolutely clear. Then, quality—absolutely must. No compromise on quality. So, two factors are disposed of. now there are four. If the objective is to maximise employment potential and minimise the par unit size, these are the two things you have to do at more or less the same cost.

You cannot quote ten times the cost and say: "I have done it in small size and, therefore, you give me ten times the price". Nobody is going to give you. Therefore, the cost must be comparable. Now what remains is—maximise the employment potential; minimise the per unit size. How is that possible? Obviously, the only way is technology. What makes the difference is technology. That is the variable. If you have lousy technology you will not get it. Your technology should be superb, something which has not been done, or adopted anywhere in the world because in those countries the needs were different. They wanted gigantism. They had gigantism. They had no population growth like ours. Therefore, they are very happy, with labour-saving technology. But now, they will have to think of methods of minimising or elimination environmental pollution. That is the only one problem for them. To us here, making a kind of compromise between all these factors is our problem.

I will give another example. About 25 years ago, Sir, I went to Pondicherry, to the Ashram. As you all know, the Ashram runs a very good secondary school. I do not know whether it had become a college or had been upgraded. But, 25 years ago, it was a very good school, one of the

best secondary schools in the country. They took me there. I said: "What is special about you?" Twenty-five years ago, they said: "Sir we have installed a computer." Nobody including me knew what a computer was 25 years ago. When they took me there, there was a big room and almost the whole room was occupied by the computer. That was something like an elephant. The size of the computer was like two elephants covering about the whole room. They said: "This is the computer". I said: "I do not understand the huge things; please tell me what does it do." Then they showed me some elementary calculations being done by that huge elephantine-size computer. I said: "Yes, that is very good. But what do I do with it? When I have to multiply 342 to 415 do I come here? Is that what you want?" They said: "No, Sir, this is how electricity can make use of its brain in such a way that it replicates human brain." This is the speciality of the computer and we all know it. Then we had the mainframes. They are still there. Then we had the desktops. Then we had lap-tops. What is a lap-top? It is of the size of a book. It has the same power, may be not so much space but the same power. The technology is the same. In fact, it is more sophisticated than what is employed in a desktop or a mainframe. Now, what is the difference between that and this? The technology has made the difference. All other things are the same. If you want a smaller one, you take a smaller one, and if you want a middle one, you take a middle one or whatever you want. It is the technology that has made the difference, that quality is maintained regardless of the size.

There is another example. It is said—I do not know whether it is still correct or not—that 50,000 spindles are needed to make any spinning mill economic. I do not know, may be 35,000 or 50,000. Now, what are the implications of a mill of that size? As I have just submitted, the whole township, schools, colleges, roads, slums and all the things will come. Suppose, I want a mill which has 1,000 spindles or 500 spindles, the cloth should be comparatively of the same quality.

Is it not possible in every village? It is possible in every village, at least in a big village. I talked to the people in-charge of an institution which makes machinery for textile mills. I called them once or twice and asked "Can you do this?" They said: "We will try. It is a matter of research." I am requesting this Government to chase them. They have promise to give us a small-scale textile mill, not losing in quality but giving all the advantages of a small-sized industry adumbrated by Mahatma Gandhi. He could not have done that at that time because the conditions were not congenial, the British Government would not have accepted it. Today, can we not accept this? This Government, this Government of the people can accept it once it is convinced that this is possible. I am convinced that this is possible. Let us, at least, show that this is not possible. If it is not 1,000 let it be 5,000 spindles. To that extent you decentralise, to that extent you do away with so many problems.

Now, I come to hydro-electricity. I am very happy that when my friend, Shri Sharad Yadav spoke the other day, he gave very good suggestions. He said: "Make use of water first." I would say, make use of water, make use of the sun, the solar energy. It so happened that in the last five years, these non-conventional energy resources were lumped into a separate Ministry in this Government of India. Why? It is because we do not want them to be poor relations of other gigantic conventional power projects. Please find out.

I understand that the potential of wind energy in this country is in the neighbourhood of 20,000 megawatts. That is not a small amount. I understand that if you fully harness the water of India, only Himachal Pradesh can supply electricity to the whole of India. It may be a little exaggerated. May be, the Chief Minister of Himachal Pradesh might have told me. But that is not the point. The point is, the Himalayan range will be able to give you enormous quantity of electricity. Sometimes, one feels so sad about the whole continent of Africa. Go to the Victoria Falls. The Victoria Falls can supply electricity to the whole continent of Africa. I have no doubt about it. Those who have seen it will have no doubt about it. So, there are many things that could be done on the small-scale idea given to us by Mahatma Gandhi. ... (*Interruptions*). Many countries are doing it by mini hydels. It appears that whenever a new idea comes here, somebody spikes it, somebody says that it is not possible, keep quiet. Then, when somebody says that it is not possible, we also say that it is not possible. The Government, the representatives of the people should refuse to take this as an excuse. They should say that my people want it, my people will not go to Sholapur, this place or that place and become skeletons. You jolly well give them 1,000 or 2,000 spindles. Let us see, what are you for and what is your research for. That is the kind of task-mastership that we have to adopt.

The Chinese have their own indigenous medicine. I saw a big book in Vietnam. They have produced in that war-torn country a beautiful book on the medicinal plants in Vietnam. We have also done it. But again, the Indian systems of medicines were absolutely groaning under total neglect.

12.00 hrs.

Now, it is a new Department under a new Director. The Minister can really make it work wonders, because other

countries are doing it. Please go ahead and do it. These are the things which Mahatma Gandhi's soul will be happy to see happening in this country.

So, Sir, I would like that some innovation, some original thinking—not even original thinking, but that which we can lifted from 1,000 years back, and we should be trying to work on these things afresh. Now, why do you want this? The Eighth Five Year Plan, the Ninth Five Year Plan or any Five Year Plan will say that our first priority is employment. Is it possible with this gigantism at all? I mean, howsoever we run our imagination riot. It is just not possible to say that this burgeoning population can be given employment with this kind of industrialisation which we are running after. What do we work for? In our ethos, in the Indian ethos, work is not just for wages; employment is not for wages alone; employment is a value in life, work is a value in life. Krishna has devoted a whole chapter to karma yoga and He says about Himself. This is something straight from the Bhagwat Gita. What does He say? He says:

"na me Parth asti Kartavayam"

'I have no duty; nobody has imposed any duty on me. I am the creator'.

"Trishu Lokeshu kinchan"

'In all the worlds I am functioning. Nobody has imposed any duty on me, but still I do my duty'.

Sir, an unemployed person whether he is getting doles or not-yes; in some countries they do give doles, but their social problems do not go away. They remain; in fact, they get accentuated. So, the moral is, compensated unemployment is no substitute for positive employment. You give him any amount of compensation, he will not be satisfied. The satisfaction that work gives to a person will never be his. Therefore, from our own scripture, from our own culture, from our own civilisation we should derive all these things, not getting dazzled by things which are ephermaral, and which ultimately harm the country.

So, this is what I would like to suggest to the Government. I do not know how much time I have taken or whether I have overstepped. I am sorry. But this is what I thought I should share with the House. We could have discussions on each one of these subjects. What can we take from Mahatma Gandhi? That is one big caption. No parties are involved and no individual's interests are involved in this. What can we take from Mahatma Gandhi if we are not to feel ashamed after 100 years or 50 years that a person called Mahatma Gandhi was born in this country, but we do not know anything about him? Probably we know about him from other countries. That would be a very sad day, a very bad day for this country.

Sir, I thank you very much for the time given to me and I hope that our discussions would be fruitful.

SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ

[Translation]

SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ (South Delhi): Mr. Speaker, Sir, in this specially convened session of Parliament on the occasion of 50th anniversary of independence, discussions on various issues have been continuing for the last two days. Four issues have been included in the discussion. On the very first day, you were of the view that if a speaker confines himself to a single subject, only then the discussion would be more systematic and more meaningful. Keeping in view your above instruction, I will confine myself to only one aspect and that aspect is human development.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, this session has been convened for self-introspection. Therefore, the discussion should be above the party affiliations. We should use the term 'we' to address and not 'you'. We should accept the ills afflicting our society as the common ills afflicting all of us. We should ponder over the measures sitting together to rectify these ills and should engage ourselves unitedly to achieve this objective. I don't think we will have to cry hoarse during discussion. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I shall try my level best to speak my mind within this limit and decorum.

So far as human resources are concerned, the human resources of a country are its ample assest. Even the use of resources such as water, mineral, land etc. gifted by nature is done by any country with the application of human resource. But we have always viewed human resources of our country as a burden. We have been thinking the increasing population as the root cause of all our problems. In a way this is right also. Therefore the measures to control the population should go hand in hand. We should launch an effective programme to control the population. This is desirable and necessary as well. But the point is as to how the existing human resources in the country, can be developed? This is a major question before us. It appears to me that India which is a country of 96 crore people, is also a proud owner of 96 crore minds and rich in hands and legs twice of that number. If we can employ this ample resource in the work of nation-building by making them

literate, healthy, disciplined and man of character, this burden can be turned into capital, this liability can turn into an asset and this burden can take the shape of huge asset of the country. Therefore I want to say that although this task seems to be difficult but it is not impossible. But what is required today is an indomitable will power, a healthy thinking and what is required is an impartial review of the schemes in operation and need to make prospective schemes practicable and suited to the present times. Therefore, I would like to start first with the present scenario.

12.08 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, so far as education is concerned, in the present perspective, it is not in a good shape. The Lok Sabha Secretariat has distributed a document to us. There is a para at page 109 which sums up matter about education. If Members read that para, then disappointed picture would emerge before them. We had visualised schooling for each child but even after formulating scores of schemes, even after fixing target of achieving universalisation of primary education, the literacy rate, as per the above document still stands at 52.21 per cent in terms of 1991 census. We want schooling for each child but we could not make one school building available in each and every village. If there is school building, there is no black-board there. If there is black-board, there is no mat to sit on. If there is mat, there are no children in school to study there. If there are children to study, there are no teachers to teach them. There is a chart at page 115 of this document showing the position regarding teachers and you will be shocked to see that the chart shows that 28 per cent of schools in India are being run with the help of only one teacher and about 32 per cent schools are being managed by two teachers only.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, primary education means imparting education upto fifth standard. If we have been cherishing the dream of management of five classes with the help of only one or two teachers, then in the real terms, we are not imparting education to children but rather we are just completing the formality of imparting education. If the above 60 per cent of schools are just completing formality for the sake of imparting education, then it is the education just for namesake. When we will be able to meet the target of universalisation of education, it should be a matter of concern for all of us.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Sushmaji, just a minute. I want to recite a Urdu couplet which is about children.

Bachaon Ke Nanhe Hathoan Ko Chand Sitare Chhune do,
Do-Char Kitabain Padkar To Yeh Hum Jaise Ho Jayenge

SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, you have recited a very good couplet and I have found a clue to my next point from this couplet itself. I am thankful to you for that. A scenario regarding those children also emerges before our eyes who have been going to schools or who are not going to school at all. You know there is a saying in our society which resembles the couplet cited by you. And that is: 'Nalayak Poot Ka Basta Bhari'. But our present syllabi have made the boys of our children overburdened with the increase in the number of text books. When I see the innocent children returning from schools, I often think that a child who does not go to school, you can either spot him at the heap of garbage sorting out glass or paper out of that or you can spot him with his mother at the house of a rich man cleaning utensils or he is afflicted with incurable diseases owing to work in factories and on the other hand, a tender child who goes to school for studying and comes back, becomes very tired due to heavy load of his bag on his back. I want to know that a child of the country who is so much tense due to heavy load of his school bag, what he will do in prime of his life? Have our policy makers considered this aspect? This is not the question of heavy school bag only, even the content of the syllabi is much more perplexing. Those entrusted with the responsibility of prescribing Syllabi had a distorted view point. Hence, nationalism was converted into communalism and morality was scarificed in the name of secularism. Secularism is supposed to get a set back if we teach children 'ga' stands for 'Ganesh' and we feel delighted when we teach children 'ga' stands for 'Gadha' we think that we have preserved the secular fabric of our country. The biographies of national heroes were expunged from the annals of history and the position is this that we have to celebrate the Golden Jubilee of our independence. I want to tell all the Members that if they will ask school going children to name ten persons who have sacrificed their lives for the sake of country, they will fumble for answer. But if you will ask the names of actors and actresses, they will tell you 25 name at a stretch. This is all due to the Syllabi which we are having in our country. Scores of committees have been set up, various commissions have been set up. These committees and commissions have presented hundreds of reports but I would like to say that even after so much of exercise, we have not been able to get any respite from this aimless and directionless educational system. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, four generations have passed since independence and we have been resorting to the same outdated system till today which has increased the number of unemployed persons. We continued adopting that system without giving any thought to the challenges before the country and the type of persons we need to combat these challenges. It was Gandhiji who gave us the concept of basic education which was closely

related to the soul of our country which would have produced sincere, simple and honest human beings and that concept of basic education would have made him disciplined and a man of character. The educated youth should not beg the government for employment but instead they must develop skill within themselves and earn and produce for themselves as well as for the country. But this scheme has been rejected from the very beginning because of craze for modernisation. Gurudev Rabindranath Tagore had given us a lively institution, an institution which creates Artists, literature and stage-men, Nobel Award recipients and genius scientists. We were supposed to develop such more institutions instead we have destroyed even this institution. This is the reason that only in 50 years of Independence, we have been transformed from Gandhi to Michael Jackson and from Tagore to Madonna. The person who do not see the challenges ahead of them, who do not change the policies to face the challenges, the challenges will engulf them. The education policy makers are unaware of the challenges being faced by the country. No one realises that the multinational companies have put a question mark on the human resources of the country. Here, we discuss about multinational companies but this discussion is confined to money matters and industry only. No one is realising that these companies are attracting the talent of the country by paying heavy salaries and providing several facilities, as a result of which majority of the youth wants to study management. Today, not even a single talented student wants to study science nor he takes interest in arts and culture. Today, the number of students opting for Medical and Engineering Courses is also on decline. Today, there is a mad rush to go for Commerce and Management studies. I would like to ask the policy makers as to whether they have ever thought anything in this regard. If all the talent opts for Trade, Commence and Management, then the question is posed before us as to how can we create scientists, literatures and teachers in our country. That's the reason that a large number of posts are lying vacant in our Army and Air Force.

Shri Jaswant Singh is sitting here. He is a member of Standing Committee on Defence and I am also one of the members of that Committee. Upendraji is also present here. In a Defence Committee's meeting attended by them, the officers have presented a shocking fact that there was a time when the youth securing more than 70 per cent marks used to prefer Army and Air Force as their careers but today the students securing only about 45 per cent marks not even apply for the post. They also said that when candidates with 70 per cent marks used to join Forces, at that time aeroplanes were not so complicated but today it is so complicated that we need computer engineers, computer students. The student with more than 45 per cent marks does not even apply for the post. Today, several posts are lying vacant in Army and Air Force due to lack of proper talent in our country. The reason for this is that once glory was attached with Army service. I remember that between 1965 to 1975, Army officers used to be the first choice of the girls. At that time their matrimonial market was also on the peak. Hence, people used to join the Army. They used to get enough money and respect as well. But today there is neither money nor any respect in this service.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, you belong to Haryana. I know that the people of Punjab and Haryana used to feel proud to send their sons in army and those families who could not send their children in Army, they used to give their children names as Karnail Singh, Gernail Singh, Subedar Singh, Hawaldar Singh. Mr. Major Singh Uboke is present in the House. They used to feel proud to have a name of a soldier, but today there is neither respect nor money in this service. Then, why are should opt for this career? Did our policy markers, Pay Commissions have ever thought anything in this regard? If one do not get enough money, it's no problem but atleast there should be respect in the service. If we study warrant of precedence, our head will hang in shame that the names of those persons who have sacrificed their lives have been placed below and the names of those who ordered them to sacrifice their lives, have been placed on the top of the files. I don't know the reason for this.

To improve the situation, we will have to take certain unpleasant decisions and we will have to annoy some officers. For doing all these things, we should have a strong will power because bureaucracy and red-tapism do not make a country prosper. The country prospers when talent is appreciated and respected, when there is a dignity of labour and when we keep the respect of heroes intact. The same problem is with the scientists. Can we produce scientists in our country by imparting knowledge in physics, chemistry and maths? The people who had spent their entire life in laboratories to undertake intensive research work should also be given some social honour.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, these people are also entitled to have some respect. But in this country, person like Hargovind Khurana struggled even for a small job. Being disappointed, he left for abroad and later on was awarded Nobel Prize. I want to ask as to why scientists like C.V. Raman and Chandra Shekhar are no more with us. Did the policy planners of this country had ever asked them which type of brain is needed for a good scientist, what changes are required in the policies? Today, a decision has been taken for which I want to congratulate this Govt. that Dr. Raja Ramanna has been nominated to Rajya Sabha. There is need of such decisions. Such decisions will reinstate their prestige.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, huge human resources which women constitute about 50 per cent of our total population and are a valuable resource. During our freedom struggle, a struggle for women awareness was also started. We have read in the books. The present generation has not seen that struggle, but must have read in the books that at the call of Gandhiji, these women left their domestic work and joined the struggle against British rule. Raja Ram Mohan Roy had started an agitation against 'Sati-Pratha'. Those women were the dignified women of their time. Engaged in their household work, wearing khadi and working on the spinning wheel, those women were the idol of dignity. Today, after 50 years, the women have been made a thing of advertisement, enjoyment and decoration. Today, without displaying semi-nude female figures on the cover goods can not be sold. Today, she has been made a medium of earning profit. Is it not a challenge to us?

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, today the figure about female education is astonishing. It is astonishing to read the male and female literacy ratio. Today, there are such districts in this country where parents do not feel happy at the birth of a girl. There women come and mourn and say that it might be late but justice will be done. Do not worry this time girl has born, next time God will bless you with a son. Earlier in some areas, there was a tradition to kill the female infant at the time of birth. Now the progress of science has also become a curse for her. Now you can know about the sex of your child in the womb. So foeticide takes place. When we discuss about population-control, please also have a sight on this aspect. It is not population control but it is girl population control. In it how much male-female ratio is decreasing, how big gap is there, this fact is to be seen. Population control is being done at the cost of the women health. There is only three and a half per cent participation by male therein, but a women has to undergo ultrasound again and again and also has to visit operation theatre for abortion.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, it is said in our country that to teach a boy means to teach a person. To teach a girl means to teach two families. A literate sister will never desire that her brother-sister should remain illiterate. A literate mother will never allow her child to be illiterate. Why the condition of female-education in this country is so bad? Even today, the maximum time of our women is spent in plucking fuel, collecting wood and performing house hold activities.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, you will appreciate that our women are the most hard working ladies in the entire world. She cooperates both outside and inside the house. She is just like an axis of the family. She is mother to provide 'sanskar' in the home and outside, being an earning member, also shares the financial burden. But today, how much percentage is the participation of women in nation-building? It is a challenging question and I would like that on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of independence, when this Parliament formulates an agenda, this fact should be kept in mind. We provided education, some figures of female education have increased. Their percentage has increased in services, they got self-reliance. But what we have done to stop their sexual exploitation at the place of the service?

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, today I would like to say that to check sexual exploitation, the Supreme Court has given a historical judgement, but that is only direction, these are directions of the Supreme Court. I would like that by including these directions, Parliament should pass an Act. A legislation should be introduced so that directions regarding sex-exploitation could get the legal shape. It may be a milestone in the 50th anniversary of independence.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, our craftsmen are one of the major human resources in the country. These talented and creative craftsmen not only contribute to the growth of the nation but also earn good name for the country in the world. But it is regrettable that their living condition is at the worst stage. I was the Chairman of the Petition Committee of Rajya Sabha. At that time a petition in respect of pathetic condition of handloom weavers was submitted. We went to their places in every nook and corner of the country in order to assess the condition in which they were living. I was pleased to notice the quality of Sarees made by those weavers. The quality of art they displayed magnificently on their clothes was a wonderful pleasure to watch. But inspire of working upto 12 to 14 hours with such a talent, it is very difficult for those people to earn two times' meal for their families. They live in thatched houses which too leaks during the rain. During rainy days, they are unable to earn their livelihood. This is the high time today on the occasion of 50th anniversary of our independence that we should bring forth an agenda for these craftsmen so that their living condition can be improved

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, another human resource of this country is our farmer. Our farmers produce foodgrains for this country by braving the cold of winter and heat of summer. But when our farmers find that foreign countries are being paid higher prices for the same product, they feel suffocated within on account of this discrimination because our Government import foodgrains at higher prices. The farmers become rebellious. They feel as if they have been cheated and their labour has gone futile. Therefore, my submission is that before taking any such decisions, it is

necessary to take into account the conditions in which our farmers work in their fields, in which they water their fields during late night hours and feed the people of this country. When I remember the hard labour of our farmers, I do recall former Prime Minister Shri Lal Bahadur Shastriji who had solved the problem of foodgrains in our country merely on the might and force of our farmers. I can still recollect that when we were in our childhood, we were often asked to write an essay on 'Self-Reliance in the Field of Foodgrains'. We used to write the essay on the same topic. At that time Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, on the one hand, exhorted the farmers to increase the production of foodgrains by encouraging them and on the other, he adopted pure Indian method to fight the problem of shortage of foodgrains. He urged upon the countrymen to undertake a fast on Monday, thus exhorting them a respectful way to meet the shortage of foodgrains. I am saying this all because we have got a totally different Indian method to fight against all such problem and if we start adopting those practices, we can definitely sort out our problems with great self-respect.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, there is another big human resource in our country and that is our youths. This document says that by the end of this century we will be having a population of 35 crore and 50 lakh youths in our country. A country having the strength of 36 crore youths in their full blossom, should not feel worry at all. But if the country remains under developed, semi-developed or its' development goes in wrong direction due to our wrong policies, the same youth will become a problem for the country. Most of problems which had been faced in our country, be it the insurgency in Kashmir, terrorism in Punjab, violence in North-east or deep neck corruption in the country, the analysis of these problems show that root cause was mal-adjustment of human resources. You see it in the light of the mal-adjustment of human resources as the root cause. Today, foreign culture is invading our country and is creating cultural pollution. Youths are the first to fall victim to this cultural erosion. Some Hon'ble Members has just said that next war would be fought not with weapons but with their cultural weapons. That cultural war has started. The moment our youths sit & watch M.T.V. programmes the glittering world of 'Manhatton And Limosin', his eyes are dazed with the glaring prosperity of that world and he longs to fulfil that desire. But he has not the resources to fulfil this desire. If he is well educated, he has not got the degree because printing paper is not available therefor. And if he has got degree, he is not able to get employment. When this youth facing the problem of unemployment fails to achieve his desires, then by suppressing his feelings, he starts adopting wrong means to fulfil his aspirations. The young man moves to the path of crime and the young women indulge in flesh trade. I want to know as to how long we would be sitting unaware of this problem. Are we going to take any measure in this regard? If not, this huge resource is likely to get wasted.

Our hon. Speaker belongs to North-East. The way North-East has been invaded by AIDS and Drugs is known to him. I want to know as to whether our administrative policies and education system have not made any contribution at all in this regard? Like a rich father who sends money-order to his child and fees that his duty is over, we have also adopted the same policy with regard to the North-East States. We think that we have fulfilled our duties just by providing money to these states and they do not need our affection and care. We never thought that we need to formulate a policy to bring the people of these states in our main-stream. We never paid our attention towards this issue. I know that till few years back, people coming from North-East states were mistaken for some Korean or Japanese citizen. People having broad forehead and shaped nose were only considered in Indian. It is the Parliament of this country which brought these North-East States together with other states of the country. When our Hon'ble Speaker, who belongs to North-East, chairs the proceedings of this House and when the entire nation watches the proceedings of the House on T.V., it makes every citizen of North-East feel proud and at the same time, the entire country also feels together with North-East. The need, today, is to develop our resources, take some firm decisions, discipline our youth and make character strong. But my submission in this regard is that morality and discipline can not be exhorted through books or delivering long speeches, rather it requires good conduct from us. Today, the question before us is as to what example of our good conduct we have set before the youths of our nation? Yesterday we were saying that 95 per cent people of this country are honest and only five percent people are corrupt. therefore, the issue before us is not that of corruption. But the problem is that these five percent corrupt people have become the ideal of 95 per cent honest people. These are the five percent people who are governing this country, who are holding the reins of this country. These are the people who make the face of our public and who sit in offices and implement the decisions. These are the five per cent people who sit in the courts to influence the judgement. It is not so that other countries are not faced with the problem of corruption but they have built a national character of their own countries. But we have built our national image on the basis of these five percent people. Now, I would like to quote an incident of Japan that happened with me. Japanese politicians are equally corrupt and political instability is also there. But, the common man

of Japan has created for himself an image of a hard worker, nationalist, Self-respecting and an honest person. I bought something from a shop in Japan and was counting the money returned by the Shopkeeper. The Japanese woman with me asked a question:

[English]

Why are you counting the money.

[Translation]

I told her that I wanted to know whether the shop keeper had returned the correct amount or not then she said:

[English]

It is a shame on us.

[Translation]

Sushmaji, please do not do so. No one counts the balance amount in Japan. The Shopkeeper would have taken only the cost of the thing even if you had given your purse to him. On the contrary, when that Japanese girl came to India with me, at the booking counter for ticket, there was a notice plate on wall "Beware of pick-pockets". When she boarded a train for Jaipur, there was also a notice plate "Passenger himself is responsible for his luggage". At that time, I compared the national image and character of both the countries. We often talk about glamour in western countries but perhaps we do not know that demonstration of money and power is considered vulgar in western countries.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I do not know whether you have gone to Sweden or not. But I have visited recently the two Scandinevian Countries. There is monarchy in Sweden but you will be surprised to know that the king of Sweden uses bicycle for going from one place to another and people greet him freely. Mrs. Dhall is Speaker of Sweden who is considered number two and Prime Minister is number three from authority and power point of view. That 60 year old lady goes to her office on bicycle.

I have also gone to Norway. There, Ministers themselves pick up their brief cases to their respective offices. When I tried to inquire about it, I was told that flaunting power is considered vulgar there. It is an ideal and they have created an example for the future generations. Their future generation would hope for a bicycle but our youth is startled by the speeding caravan of vehicles of politicians and long to get it. Therefore, I would like to say that by adopting the earlier old method and policies only, we can develop the future generation into morally strong and disciplined human beings.

We have our own Indian philosophy of human development. Western Countries have considered Mechiavillan theory for human development which gives importance to the person's Self-interest and ambitions whereas philosophy of Chanakya in Indias perspective gives importance to the Country. It stresses on dedication and nation building. We have to build a nation which is sensitive to poor, exploited and neglected people. This is not a new concept.

Swami Vivekanand also thought about such a sensitive nation. He gave a call to the citizens and asked a question I would like to quote that question before this Parliament.

> "Do you feel grieved over the fact that lakhs of people are hungry and this country is enveloped in ignorance and illiteracy. Do you feel concerned about it? Does this fact make you restless? If so, this is the first step towards patriotism, only first step."

I would like to say that we require a nation sensitive to poor. It is a difficult task and requires hard work. I remember a sentence of Pt. Nehru which was said by him just after the independence.

[English]

> There is a time for work; there is a time for leisure. But this generation of ours is sentenced to hard labour. I repeat, ..."Sentenced to hard labour."

[Translation]

This sentence was relevant at that time and is equally relevant today after 50 years of Independence. We need not take rest but work hard. We can achieve the target if we move in the right direction with determination. In this Special Session of Parliament on the occasion of 50th anniversary of Independence if we really want to pass a resolution to build a new India of our dreams, then we all the M.Ps should resolve ourselves to work according to the famous sentence of Vivekanandji, that is—"Utishtha, Jagrata Prapya Varannibodhat".

[English]

Which means Arise, awake and stop not till the goal is reached.

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV

[Translation]

THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE (SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir first of all, I would like to thank you for allowing me to Speak. Sir, through you, I congratulate the hon. Mr. Speaker for calling this Special Session on the occasion of Golden Jubilee Celebration of Independence and remember those freedom fighters whose sacrifices have enabled us to discuss this issue in this august House.

Sir, through this House, I would like to pay respect to father of the nation Mahatma Gandhi, Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru, Sardar Patel, Ram Prasad Bismil, Usmanulla, Sardar Bhagat Singh, Subhash Chandra Bose, Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, Jai Prakash Narayan, Acharya Narendra Dev and all the freedom fighters who sacrificed their lives for freedom of this country. On 15th August in 1947, when India got independence, at that time we had a dream about future of India. What was that dream? At the time of Independence, we had a target for us. Our dream was that when India will get freedom under the able leadership of Gandhiji, then poverty will be eradicated from our country. Villages and farmers of our Country will prosper. Irrigation facility will be provided for every field. No discrimination would be made against anyone. The blot of illiteracy would be removed. These were our dreams and a picture of future India was presented at that time. Now, we have to think that where we were at that time and what were our targets and where are we now at present.

I am very happy that in this Special Session of Parliament, leaders of all the political parties have debated several important issues rising above the party lines. I am going to speak at such a moment when several Members have already spoken. The issue raised by hon. P.V. Narasimha Rao is quite serious and important for this House and a better one for all the intellectuals of India. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI KALPNATH RAI (Ghosi): What will be the fate of crores of people of this Country?

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV: Leave this issue of crores of people. Earlier they might have not understood this due to illiteracy and ignorance but they will understand it someday. He has raised an important issue in this House. Under the leadership of Ram Manohar Lohia we, as well as you have spoken a lot on disarmament and to stop the arms race but that is a different matter. Almost all the leaders have spoken. Therefore, I would like to shun a repetition of those things barring that I may have to give by way of a few examples. Therefore, I shall not take much time.

I want to say that the name of Mahatma Gandhi has constantly been mentioned in the House for the last two days who was concerned about making our nation great. He aspired to make our country so powerful as to dwarf the top of Himalayas and become the foremost country in the world and for this purpose he had presented a model, a system before the people and leaders of the country and had suggested a way. He stated that India lives in villages. Sardar Patel stated that the culture of the country is agriculture. Gandhiji had said that so long as the villages do not progress, the farmers of our country cannot become prosperous and till then our freedom will remain incomplete. The hon. Speaker has also stated in his speech that unless the problems of every distressed person are solved, the country will not be considered free. Are we translating it into practice? I would like to state on this occasion that we must accept all our social and political mistakes committed in the past irrespective of our affiliations to party or leader. If we accept our mistakes, we will not be ashamed before the people. Therefore, we must accept our social and political mistakes on the occasion of this golden jubilee celebrations of our Independence. Therefore, it is our responsibility at the golden jubilee of independence to complete the picture of the country envisaged on 15th of August, 1947. Since we are in power, it is our responsibility to fulfil those dreams and make India as per the dreams envisaged.

Sir, it is said time and again that India is a poor country. I fail to understand as to how it is said. I through this House, would like to state on this occasion before the people of the country that no doubt the people of India are poor and have lagged behind in the race of development but the richest country in the world is none other than India. No other country is as prosperous as India. There is no dearth of water in India. It experiences sufficient rainfall and there is plenty of land as well as surface water; there are many rivers, there is no shortage of wood, coal, cement or manpower. No other country of the world is endowed with such a good agriculture and pleasant climatic conditions suiting agriculture as ours. Then, why are we backward and poor? We are poor because we could not uplift our farmers. I am neither opposed to factories nor cities but I would like

to clarify one thing that the cities cannot remain prosperous without farmers but villages can remain prosperous without cities. There is no conflict between industry and farming but the factories cannot exist without agriculture and agricultural production but agriculture is possible without factories. If the farmer is deprived of tractor, he can still plough his land with the help of a small pickaxe and a spade and pull water from the very heart of the earth. 80 per cent population lives in villages but if the farmer's purchasing power is weak, these factories will not run. Therefore, there is no conflict between the factories and agriculture. Cities and villages also have no dichotomy but the prosperity of the cities lies in the prosperity of villages. If the villages and farmers get further impoverished, the high rise buildings and mansions in Delhi will no longer be seen. Wherever the villages are prosperous, trade increases and the people become rich. I think, this poverty is the basic weakness. In the first Five Year Plan in 1951, more funds were allocated for agriculture and in the Plan prepared in 1956, more funds were allocated for setting up of heavy industries. In other countries of the world the allocation of funds for agriculture has increased but unfortunately allocation for agriculture in India has decreased while allocation for industries has increased. I do want that the Government should set up heavy industries, build up railways, bombs and undertake such works as cannot be done manually. But why is machine required to manufacture goods ranging from clothes to match box, soap, biscuits and loaf while there is abundance of manpower and population in our country and comparatively less farming. We have copied from United States where there is more agriculture and less population while in India agriculture is less and population more in proportion. If all the works are mechanised, the unemployment and poverty will increase. I want to say that unemployment increases poverty and poverty is not instrumental in increasing unemployment. Therefore, slogan should have been raised 'remove unemployment' because if unemployment is removed then poverty will be automatically removed. We coined the slogan 'remove poverty' but if we had coined the slogan 'remove unemployment' perhaps we could have made progress. Only for this purpose we did not utilise our natural resources and did not benefit our farmers. I am intentionally speaking these things to farmers because the farmer anywhere in the world is not as laborious and wise as in India.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I cite an example in this regard. A delegation from Israel visited India when I was Chief Minister. They presented before us a programme in a Five star hotel. People of Israel have done a marvellous job. They raised the slogan, 'Go to the deserts' which is right. The ploughing of fields and sowing of seeds is done there after ascertaining the temperature. But the farmer of India is so wise that he will tell the right time for ploughing of fields and sowing of seeds by touching the field with his toe. In which country of the world does a farmer work so hard? But today, that farmer is neglected. I have been stating for the last six years that the fight was between 5 per cent versus 95 per cent. I would like to thank Sharad Pawarji, Chandra Shekharji and two hon. Members of BJP who at least accepted our point of view today.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I would like to ask as to who constitute the 5 per cent in this conflict between 5 per cent versus 95 per cent? They are the ones who were rich and educated at the time of the British rule and who were indulged in maximum exploitation. On the occasion of golden jubilee of independence also, persons falling in the category of 5 per cent are the respected ones enjoying all the facilities and luxuries and are hatching conspiracy against freedom fighters by playing the role of middlemen. Even today, the 95 per cent people have been deprived of basic needs and facilities of life. What is the solution of this problem? Who are those five per cent people, they are those persons, please do not mind, we are also for the Indian languages. We want that our national language should develop, our language is mute so far. We want that Marathi, Telugu, Malayalam, Kannad, Gujarati, Gurumukhi and Urdu be used and therefore, when we were in power we had arranged for promotion of four south Indian languages and other languages. We are not supporter of Hindi only, we are against English which is a foreign language, therefore, we regret to say that though we canvass for votes in mother tongue but make speech in foreign language in this House. Can anybody dare to ask for votes in foreign language and win the election? Therefore, there is difference between practice and preaching. Therefore, I would request the opposition parties, as we agree in this regard, that we should resolve on this occasion that this Lok Sabha would become multilingual and Supreme Court should become multilingual. If any member of Parliament wants to speak in Tamil, we should say that we understand that.

Today we are using medium for Hindi-English translation, but not for Tamil, Telugu and other Indian languages. Gandhiji had said that if two persons, who know the same mother tongue, speak in English, they should be jailed for six months. Have we understood Gandhiji? No one can diminish the stature of Gandhiji. His ideology is so broad that today not only the people of India but the people of the world follow him. When the President of South Africa takes oath, he takes the name Gandhi. If anyone breaks 10-20 statues of Gandhi in India, it does not make a difference. There are statues of Gandhi in 48 countries of the world. Therefore, I want to say that it is misfortune of the country that our mother India is mute even after 50 years of independence. We have not been able to make

our official language. There is the need to ponder over it. I want to repeat again that this Lok Sabha and Supreme Court should be made multilingual.

Who are those five per cent people? They speak in English, abuse in English, drink English wine, dance in English style and abuse Mulayam Singh in English. It is true. I am saying that if any person is abused most in India, he is Mulayam Singh. Those five per cent people abuse Mulayam Singh. We have seen it many times. But we cannot bear the ignorance of 95 per cent people. Therefore, awakening has come. We sometimes call it casteism, it is not casteism, it is awakening. We have given slogan at the time of independence and we saw that on our one side people are having good food, good clothes, and good house. But today there is poverty to a large extent. All hon. members know about the condition of 35 per cent people in the country. If there are five members in a family, there are not five plates so that all the five members can take food at one time, there are not five cots and five rooms for them. Father, mother, son, daughter and wife of the labourer and farmer live in the same room alongwith two bullocks and their son also studies there in the light of lantern. This is the condition so far. I want to give two examples. It was said that I am anti-women and Mulayam Singh is against the reservation for women. It is my misfortune that I become more controversial. First of all, I want to say that after independence, after Mahatma Gandhi, it is the Samajwadi party which has struggle for the respect and rights of women. When Dr. Lohia gave his slogan of 60 per cent, said kaha sansopa ne bandhi ganth socialisto ne bandhi ganth, pichhade pave soumein sath. If you read that policy, programme, theory and election manifesto, women and minorities are also included in that. All forget minorities and say how the minorities can be given reservation. Why it cannot be given to them. When you are giving special opportunities to all, the minorities should also be given special opportunities. If not today, certainly tomorrow, special opportunities would have to be given to Muslims, Sikhs and Christians in India. I want to emphasise this today. Our policy is in regard to social justice, it also intends to bring social change. I want to say to my friends, also to Shri Sharad Yadav that we do not want social justice. We should stop to give the slogan of social justice.

13.00 hrs.

We have to change the whole of the system. Social justice has been given here, backwards have been given opportunity, the downtroddens have received reservation, but we have to see that 10 per cent reservation should also be provided for the poor belonging to higher castes. Constitution may be amended for it. When we talk about social justice, it is the part of social changes. Today, you see that we are in power. We have been in power earlier also, I have been Minister, Chief Minister also. I have been opposition leader for five and a half years continuously but I have seen that if downtrodden people are more in number some where, they have become powerful. Where backwards are more in number, they have also become powerful there. The downtroddens, minorities and backwards have inflicted atrocities on them. They have closed their way and have occupied their farms there. Is it not true? Today social justice is needed, therefore, we are talking about social change. Social justice is its part. There is the need of changing the whole of the system. We had made demand for 10 per cent reservation for the poor belonging to higher castes and a proposal was passed and a Committee was constituted in which Chief Minister was also included. I had also demanded for making amendment in the Constitution and said that 10 per cent reservation should be provided to the poor belonging to the higher castes. The poor and the people belonging to minorities should also be provided reservation whether he is Christian or Muslim. We want to say it openly and firmly that they should be provided reservation. Where the caste has broken and where identity in the name of caste and religion has obliterated, that country has become powerful. I would take it later on.

Should we be happy with the progress that we have made? The people like us would not be happy with that. India has made progress by leaps and bounds. We have progressed in the field of communication. If India has become self-sufficient in foodgrains, Government of India cannot take all the credit. The farmers of India are to be lauded for this. We are farmers. I have been farming since the time when I became MLA for the first time. Some of our friends are still farmers. We get information regarding our farms through telephone. We are farmers but we have not got any facility from the Government. The members of our family have increased the production from those farms which were not cultivated earlier. The farmers have increased the production by doing hard work. Today they are not being provided water, cheap fertilizers and quality seeds. Inspite of that, the farmers of India particularly those of Punjab have increased the production. When the farmers of Punjab came to our State, they presented an ideal model. When they increased the yield of crops, efforts were made to take possession of their land. For this purpose, they are taking excuse, they are taking excuse that they have encroached the land. Sikhs of Tarai are being threatened in the name of possession and efforts are being made continuously to take over their land. If we were there, Sikh brothers would have been liberated. No one would have taken possession of their land. Barnala Sahab, you pay your attention towards it. Many of your colleagues have their agriculture farms there. Efforts are being made to take over possession of

their land. They have set an example by increasing the yield of the crops. We have made progress in the field of agriculture, science and education. We have got knowledge. If we feel complacency that India has made progress, we will not be able to discharge our responsibility. What is our position at international level? What is our position in comparison to those countries which have made progress? We would like to cite two examples of such countries and there is no need to cite the example of third country. In 1945 during second world war, Japan had been ruined completely. Railways, hospitals and other important facilities had been destroyed there due to the use of atom bomb, land had sunk there and fatal diseases had broken out. Everything had been destroyed in 1945. Today, what is position of Japan? In 1949, revolution had taken place in China. Today, what is the position of China and India? After making comparison with these two countries, we would know whether India has made progress or not? We can praise ourselves that we have made motor cycle and car in place of bicycle and have developed missile in place of needle. Should we feel satisfied with this performance. See China, in 1947 when we got independence what was our position and what was the position of China? There was nothing in China. They had lost everything. They were hungry and they were called opium addicts but today you see that they have population of about 125 crores whereas our population is 100 crores. The population of China is one fourth more as compared to our population but India produces about 25 crore tons of coal while China produces 125 crore tons & coal which is five times more *vis-a-vis* India. We should make comparison to assess our progress. It is not proper, if we praise ourselves stating that earlier we did not have needle and now we have developed missile and we have made progress. Likewise, India is producing 2 crore and 60 lakh tons iron and steel while the production of China is 10 crore and 50 lakhs. Our production of foodgrains is about 20 crore tons whereas China is producing 50-60 crore tons foodgrains while they have less agricultural land as compared to India. The population of China is one fourth more as compared to our population and even then, they are producing three times more foodgrains *vis-a-vis* our production. They are producing five times more coal, steel and iron as compared to our production while they are having one forth more population in comparison to our population. If we make our comparison with them, proper review would come up. We will have to make this review, then we can progress. Today, I would like to submit that countries which have laid emphasis on the agriculture, have made progress. We should go through the history of four five years to ascertain the position of America. Many scholar and experienced persons are sitting here. Our sister Sushma Swarajji has vast experience of foreign visit, perhaps I have never gone abroad. Once I had gone to London. For being in the government I may have to go to foreign countries. When I have not seen my country thoroughly, what is the use to see the world? First of all, we should visit our country and it is a worth seeing country. No country is so beautiful, prosperous and is having natural wealth like this country. Which country can be more beautiful than this country?

We should remember that when revolution took place in China, Maotsetung had called scientists, educationists and all others and asked them the way in which the China could make progress. They had replied that we would talk to Russia and other countries. He asked them that you tell me one thing that from whom Russia has learnt? At this all the scientists, educationists and intellectuals kept mum. He said that we should not seek assistance from anyone. Scientists and educationists should formulate policies for the country. We should not seek assistance from Russia to build our country. Has such spirit of patriotism awakened in our country? Sh. Narasimha Raoji has told that scientists are going abroad and they are working there on the higher posts. Today, doctors are going abroad from India to conduct heart operations. In foreign countries Indian doctor conducts operation but when he comes to India he does not get due respect. Indian engineers are the most expert engineers. Uttar Pradesh Bridge Corporation is one of the best bridge constructing institutions in the world. What incentive we have given to them? Today they have lost everything. Uttar Pradesh Bridge Corporation used to construct bridges in the world as a result of which we used to get substantial income. We have not given due respect to our talents. We have not heard our people and have not given them due respect. As a result of which many talents of our country have migrated abroad gradually. They are getting facilities there. If we want to protect the talents of our country, we should think about it. 50 years have passed of our independence. If we want to make our country self-reliant, a few people of this country should not consider this country as their legacy. I am talking about 95 per cent people because we have not been able to create among them a sense of responsibility. We have not been able to tell even a worker that this country belongs to him. Politicians, M.L.As., M.Ps., Ministers or President of District Panchayat or Mayors and officers working on the highest posts or industrialists consider India as their legacy. Such people are only one crore. Earlier were 50-60 lakhs but now their number has increased to one crore and they have nothing to do with the remaining 97-98 crores people of the country. They have not been taken into confidence, their cooperation has not been sought and participation in power has not been provided to them. Therefore, we should awaken them, provide participation in the power and we will have to create awareness among these 95 per cent people. Therefore, I congratulate Mr. Speaker for saying that we will have to

fight another struggle of freedom. In this struggle we will have to bring 95 per cent neglected people into the mainstream. We are doing our best to bring Muslims into the mainstream but it is useless as they are already in the mainstream. I would like to submit that minorities and the farmers have given maximum cooperation in the development of the country. Eminent economists and scholars are sitting here. Despite the maximum cooperation of minorities and the farmers in the development of the country, they are being neglected. To what extent more you want to bring them into the mainstream. Muslim is the best barber so we have our shave from him, we get our clothes stitched from muslim, we get our hair cut from Muslim, we bring Banarasi Sari for the marriage of our daughter and it is also made by Muslim. We use the famous carpets of Bhadohi, they are also made by the Muslims. In Moradabad the utensils of copper and bronze are made by the Muslims and the locks of Aligarh are also made by Muslims. Sikhs and Muslims have extended their cooperation by inventing the best quality spare parts of rickshaw, bicycle and in the field of atomic energy and thus they have given maximum cooperation in the development of the country. How they are away from the mainstream. Since Muslims are good craftsmen, people need Muslims to make best ornaments for their family members. Today discussions are being held to bring them into the mainstream. The Muslims and the farmers have contributed a lot in the development of the country. They were on the forefront in the freedom struggle and they never turned back. In 1965, when Indian soldiers went in Pakistan's territory, Abdul Hameed contributed a lot in that war, even then we suspect them. I would like to urge all to stop suspecting them. If the minorities and Sikhs are suspected, then the image of the country will be tarnished. They may be hardly one per cent. The entire Sikh and Muslim community is being suspected and branded as ISI's agents. They also said that Mulayam Singh was instrumental in dropping arms in Purulia. Throughout the country there was a news that ISI agent Mulayam Singh would be exposed in Purulia arms dropping case. You might have read it. There was not a single newspaper which did not cover this news. The Leader of Opposition said no comments. Who dropped arms in Purulia? Did Muslim or ISI dropped the arms? Was there any Muslim involved? I would like to tell you that no involvement of any Muslim has been found. When in such an institution, organisation any senior officer is involved in indiscipline, in contact with foreign countries and involved in sending secret information of the country to other persons/country, then we do not take the institution's name because there was no Muslim involved in it, and there were only Hindus. Irony is that we talk about bringing them into the mainstream. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, therefore I would like to request that we should not suspect our Muslim brethren. If we suspect them, then it will prove dangerous for the country. We must extend friendly hands towards them because we would never get any other community to make sacrifice of its life for the country. Therefore, we must approach them in a friendly manner because they have made maximum sacrifices and contribution for the development of the country.

My colleagues have spoken here about patriotism. This is good. We must ponder over the reasons as to why spirit of patriotism is lacking among us. The main reason for the lack of patriotism is that today two of our groups are silent. The students of the country left their studies to join the freedom struggle. Today we are celebrating 50th anniversary of golden jubilee year of independence. We must dwell on this subject so that our next generation does not forget these sacrifices. At that time, school-college going students had joined the freedom struggle but why are they silent today? Why are the intellectuals silent who had once awakened the entire country.

The hon. Speaker has rightly said that now we have to fight the second freedom struggle. For this, we will have to awaken the students and intellectuals who are silent today. It is true that the Father of the Nation Mahatma Gandhi has contributed a lot in freedom struggle, he had created awareness among the masses but if the intellectuals, poets, litterateur, writers and journalists of the country had also not contributed, then this mass awareness would not have been possible. Today, I regret that the youth, students, intellectuals, journalists are silent. No, why they are silent and who is responsible for this. I think we are responsible for this. The people in ruling party are more responsible for this. We including all the leaders should unite and take unanimous decision to bring awakening in our people once again.

As far as opposing the Bill related to Reservation for women is concerned, I would like to say that I am not against reservation for women but I am against the form—nature of the Bill. We too want that women should get reservation. For this, all the parties should make amendments in the Constitution unitedly but before this, all the parties should decide that they want to give this extent of reservation. Sometimes, it is argued that we cannot do this? Why we cannot do this? We have full rights to bring an amendment in Constitution and the Election Commission can also do this within the law. The Election Commission can make a provision that every party will have to provide certain percentage of reservation for women and if any party does not follows this order, the party will be stripped of the recognition and symbol.

I am speaking truth. All the Members of Parliament irrespective of their party affiliations, have congratulated

me. I do not want to take name of any party. They are very weak at heart. Though they cannot say it openly even then they say that Mulayam Singh has given a good suggestion. There is no party whose MPs have not contacted me and said that they agree with me. All agree with me. We want that some amendments should be made in the present form of the said Bill.

Just now Narasimha Raoji said that the people have dual character, there is a difference in what they say and what they do. Hon. members come to me and say that they do not favour reservation and Mulayam Singh's suggestion is very good. I would like that every member should do some soul-searching and then say this. Whatever the supporters of the present Bill and the leaders of their party may say, I want to ask that is there any fault in what we say. We cannot be ever against this Bill. Since then when we like-minded parties have joined together, we have fought for the interests of women. I would give two examples.

We are aware of the atrocities being committed on the poor people, as well as on women and girls. The height of poverty is such that one and half years back there were three sisters in Kanpur. Neelam who was a student of MA, Veena was a BA student and Aarti was a high school student. Their father Dikshit was a teacher, who passed away. Now his son and wife are the only survivors in the family. The son and mother sometimes used to quarrel on the issue of marriages of these three girls.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, these girls knew that their brother and mother were deeply concerned about their marriage. Sometimes, they had to go without food. They planned and consumed poison. Everyone knows this. The Doctors could say the youngest girl Aarti but Neelam and Veena died. They could not tolerate the fact that their brother and mother were worried on account of their marriage. Hence, they consumed poison. I visited that house. I would like to tell the hon. Members that even a person of my height had to bend low to pass through the door. When I went into the room, I was surprised because there was nothing inside the house except perhaps two cots and a few kgs of foodgrains. I asked the girl who survived the suicide attempt as to why she has consumed poison but she could not say anything. There were tears in her eyes. I told her, dear never take poison. Though I do not have lot of funds in my party even then I give Rs. one lakh for marriage but never take poison. This is the condition of the poor people and women in our country. I have tried to sketch the incident. No leader went to their house to express condolence. So many leaders are there in Kanpur and around but no leader except those of the Samajwadi Party visited their home to enquire about their well being and express condolences.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, recently a girl named Suman Tiwari who was on a homeguard duty, was tortured in a police station and booked under a law which I would not like to mention here. She was a homeguard and was kept in the police station for three days. As soon as she came out of the police station, she consumed poison. She had two children-11 years old daughter and 7 years old son. Now they have become orphan. Just after getting out of the police station she consumed poison and died. No leader or M.P. visited her home to express condolences.

SHRI JAGAT VIR SINGH DRONA (Kanpur): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, Kanpur is my Parliamentary Constituency. Hon. Defence Minister is talking about my constituency. I would like to put the records straight.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: You will certainly get an opportunity.

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV: Let me first complete my point then you may give your explanation.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I was on tour. When I noticed this news while reading some newspaper, I cancelled all my programmes and went there. When I enquired about her home, I came to know that she does not have any home. She had a son and a daughter. These two children were sitting besides the people. When I saw their plight, I gave 50,000 rupees for their subsistence what I mean to say that our women and girls are in such a pitiable condition in our country. I want to make it clear that I am not anti-women rather I am a staunch supporter of womens' cause.

SHRI JAGAT VIR SINGH DRONA: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I have great regards for our Defence Minister Shri Mulayam Singh Yadavji but he should not give wrong information to the House. You visited that place after one month in connection with some other work. That is my constituency. Local M.L.A. and I myself participated in her cremation and have been in constant touch with the family.

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV: Please don't compel me to say something. Even the amount of Rs. 5000 which you had announced has not been given ... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI JAGAT VIR SINGH DRONA: Any way, you have atleast admitted that we had gone there.

[English]

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV (Silchar): This debate has been kept above all these things. Let us not discuss all these things ...(*Interruptions*)

[Translation]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Shri Mulayam Singh ji, you have already spoken for 44 minutes.

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I want to speak for some more time. People from that side have already spoken for 45 minutes. You give me the whole time allotted to my party. *(Interruptions)*

Uma Bharati ji, you say something else while sitting there and something different in private. So, please let me put my point.

We are the supporters of women's cause and respect them. I have not named any party nor am I mentioning any person. I am just saying that I visited that girl's home and made some arrangement for the subsistence of those children.

SHRI CHAMAN LAL GUPTA (Udhampur): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, this has been repeatedly mentioned in the speeches and a decision has been taken that nobody will indulge in party publicity here but Hon'ble Defence Minister Shri Mulayam Singh Yadav is openly indulging in his party's publicity ...(*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Shri Chaman Lal ji, please sit down.

...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV: Sir, we want to make this country self-dependent and we will have to be self-dependent. This Hindustan can be made self-dependent by best utilising the services and assets of Hindustan, atmosphere of Hindustan, farmers of Hindustan, minorities of Hindustan, freedom fighters and Intellectuals of Hindustan, and by overcoming inferiority complex. This can not be done by speeches ... (*Interruptions*) Therefore we want to say to you that we have to remove this indiscrimination and fill up the gap between rich and poor. We don't want to have any sort of disparities. Whether it is a question of economic disparity, social inequality, political participation, regionalism, language or man-woman, we are in favour of removing all such disparities at all levels. Therefore, the entire House is required to think on the line of making this society equal and also prosperous and if we keep in mind the political gains then it will not be good for us.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, we want to urge upon you that if someone looks for personal gains in politics or in public life then one cannot contribute towards the development of the country. But today self-interest is being taken care of. None dares to say the truth. We have taken risk. We have not cared for the outcome in politics. We would like to assure you that the people of our party will not care for the outcome in future also. How can we build the nation this will be our priority. But, I am sorry to state that it is not happening.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I want to express a couple of more points. We fully agree with the three suggestions given by Hon'ble Atalji. We have also received his letter and he has also mentioned in his speech that there should not be any interruption in Question Hour. Members of Parliament should restrain themselves and follow certain Parliamentary conventions and they should not go to the well of the House and there should not be any interruptions during the President's address to the joint parliamentary session. We also support these three things but I would like to say one thing that the Chair must take care of back benches ...(*Interruptions*) Today those people, who are sitting on the last seats and the people of small parties, shouldn't we take them seriously and publish their views. If the people sitting on back benches and people from small parties are given a chance to speak and if party leaders speak less then there will be no need for this quorum bell ...(*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: It is not the responsibility of the House to publish their speeches.

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV: I want to suggest that the chair must give directions to this effect that if somebody speaks without the permission of the Chair or comes into the well then his speech should be expunged from the proceedings. You must direct the Media and Newspapers that this matter, this speech should not be published. Today, Televisions have been installed here due to which the people of entire Hindustan are watching us. They come here to get publicity and start making hue and cry.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, please issue directions that no one should interrupt during Question Hour. Leaders are not required for it. They speak themselves and do not give chance to their backbencher colleagues. Members of ruling party are also responsible for this state of affairs. Proceedings of House can run smoothly if Ministers give proper reply to questions raised by hon. Members and also express their reactions correctly. But usually the Government give ambiguous reply to questions. At present we are in ruling party and we should try to improve this practice. There will be no tumultuous scenes in the House if proper reply is given to questions raised by hon. Members.

Secondly, you have raised the issue of criminalization. I congratulate you for raising the serious issue regarding criminalization of politics here in such a manner. I welcome this because I, myself, had been victim of it. In 1991, one of the notorious dacoits of our country had contested against me and in 1996 ...(*Interruptions*) I would not like to go in details. I am keeping that in my mind. In 1996, one of the mafia leaders of U.P. contested Lok Sabha elections against me. I am not mentioning name of any particular person or political party, you can introspect yourself ...(*Interruptions*) Please do not exceed your limits or my speech will pinch you, you will not tolerate it.

That very criminal had murdered a leading political leader of U.P. Rules and laws are not required to check criminalization of politics. Every person, and political parties know about criminals and if leaders have good intention, they should not give tickets to such criminals. We all should debate this issue and take a decision that criminals would not be given tickets for election. Why only a single party should raise this issue time and again? All political parties are aware of it.

Vohra Committee report on criminalisation has been presented. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, today power is in the hands of elected representatives. It is being said that they are involved with criminals, such a situation can be dangerous for democracy. The detailed study of Vohra Committee reveals that politicians, judges and officers at high level have links with criminals. But the alleged involvement of politicians is being discussed and alliance of judges and officers has been left. Criticism of politicians in such a manner is not in the interests of democratic system of the country.

We have celebrated birth centenary of Gandhiji and presently celebrating the 50th anniversary of our Independence. Most of us will not be lucky to take part in centenary celebration of Independence though young people will get a chance ...(*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The lunch hour can be skipped if the House wish to do so.

SEVERAL HON'BLE MEMBERS: No, no.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Alright, you can have lunch because the House will sit late in the night.

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV: As far as election reforms are concerned, procedural changes won't bring any improvement. People as well as the leaders will have to change their mentality. This procedure gave good results during the period from 1952 to 1967. We all should work collectively for it. Enacting law is not necessary. I have several such examples in my mind. All the Members may be knowing the name of Choudhary Shankar Singh of Jalaun. He is well known in U.P. From 1980 to 1982, he was involved in false encounter. Later on, an agitation was launched against an officer and he was made history-sheeter in a period of two years. Chaudhary Shankar Singh had been twice BJP, MLA and later on joined our party. This cannot be done by law. The people in power will involve an innocent person in cases for self interest to stop him from taking part in elections. We should discuss this issue with our intellectuals openly. All the political parties should participate in it so that public could know the views of political parties.

It is correct that we have achieved certain goals in last 50 years. Democracy has been strengthened. We should discuss such matters collectively if we want to maintain democratic system in this country. If you think about profit and loss, then you can't perform the responsibility. For once, you will have to take steps stringently.

I would take some more time before I conclude my speech. Now-a-days, people are rushing from villages to cities. One can see huge buildings in Delhi, nevertheless we can also find jhuggi jhopri clusters at some places. We will have to pay attention towards these poor people also, then only a feeling of patriotism will develop in the minds of the people as was seen during the freedom struggle. Today many freedom fighters are sitting among us in this House. Their's was a massive movement and it was launched under the leadership of Gandhiji. We want to tell them that their party has the largest base and they have their party workers spread in every village and moreover, the freedom fighters are also with them. Today, the freedom fighters are in their 80s or 90s but even now also, they support them. Hence I request to stop adopting dual-character and they should rather work to bridge the gap between different sections of the society.

I would also like to say something about one language policy. Russia and China have not progressed by using English language. Therefore, I would like to request to encourage and give incentives to the professors We should give two-three times more salary to them during the two-three month's vacations and ask them to translate the books in each Indian language. People say that without English, medical study is not possible. If it is so, then how China, Germany, Japan or Russia and other countries have made progress without the help of English? When Ram Manohar Lohia ji visited Germany, he communicated in English. The professor of that University asked him to learn German if he

wanted to study under him. Then Lohia ji learned German language in six months and thereafter started his studies. Later, the Professor told him that though he knew English but he wanted him to learn German. That's why Germany, which had completely disintegrated after the Second World War became a super power. Therefore, I request that the professors and the educated people should be given two-three times more salaries and they should be asked to translate all the books written in the regional languages into all other Indian regional languages. Then we won't say that medical studies are not possible without English. Today, Hindi is known to be a link language throughout the country. When people from South visit Badrinath, do they go there after learning English? Similarly, do the people from North India visit Tirupathi in Andhra Pradesh and Rameshwaram only after learning English? Likewise, if we go to Jagannathpuri, whether we do not use our link language? We do. But there are certain people who indulge in false propaganda that English is an international language. I am astonished to hear all this.

I want to narrate an incident. Once I went to attend the inaugural function of a school of an industrialist. Everybody asked me as to why I was going there, for it was an English medium school. I told them to let me go because by doing so I would be getting an opportunity to place my viewpoint there. I do not want to name him. When we sat together, he himself told me barring a few countries—numbering 7-8, English is not spoken in rest of the countries. Therefore, we can not say that English is an international language. English is spoken only in those countries which have remained slaves to Britishers. Today there are nearly 190 countries in the world which have been given recognition by UNO and barring seven to eight countries, English is spoken in none of the other countries. Therefore it is not proper to say that we can't progress without English. I would like to urge our brothers from South that all of you should speak here in Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Kannad, we will extend you our heartiest welcome in Lucknow.

Further, I would like to say something about our sports also. Why are we lagging behind in the field of sports? Because, we have promoted, encouraged and played only cricket. This game is played only in those countries who have remained slaves. We have got our own various national games. Today we have abondoned Hockey, Kabaddi, Kho-Kho, High jump and long jump. Still there are many people in our country who are born swimmer. I, myself, have remained a wrestler and was selected in Uttar Pradesh Team. I was the Champion of Agra Division. I was selected in U.P. I was selected in the national team but was never accorded any honour. Why swimming has become one of the most favourite games? There are many people who live on the bank of rivers and seas and are known as 'Mallah' and 'Kewat'. Whether any of us has ever thought that merely 12 years old son of a Nishad (kewat) can swim in the sea for six kilometeres and come back? Whether anybody has ever thought that only 16 years old boy can swim in the sea for 12 kms. Whether they are ever selected to participate in any international swimming competition? Whether they have ever been selected? Who are selected for such competitions? Selections is made out of only few people. That is why we are lagging far behind in the field of sports—be it swimming or any other game. Whether we are liked or disliked in the sports field with this much little confidence, is not a question.

Today somebody said about the Ministry of Defence that I like them very much and they like me very much. He further said that why do not we deploy Prithvi missile at our border? What is the need for discussing such things right now? We will deploy it, whenever there is need to do so. It is a matter of only two hours or two and a half hours. Our former Prime Minister Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao and Shri Sharad Pawar ji, both have remained the Minister of Defence in the past. They know as to how much time it will take. These missiles are not to be preserved in the museum. Whenever the need be, we will definitely use them and this is a fact. I do agree with the former Prime Minister that we the socialist people never believe in the arms race but the situation today is different which demands strengthening of our Army. But keeping in view the activities in our neighbouring country, it is necessary to strengthen our Army. We have got a very vast experience and we know that if we want to pursue our foreign policy independently without bowing to any pressure from any foreign power, we have to make our military power very strong. If our Army is strong enough, the country will achieve development and then nobody would dare to interfere in Kashmir issue.

If these five countries, who believe in bossism, are prepared to sink all their nuclear weapons in the sea, then India will also be ready to follow the suit. But unless these five countries destroy all their nuclear power, India will go on strengthening its Army to protect its boundaries. On being asked as to why our neighbouring countries are racing with one another for acquiring weapons, they categorically said that they have built up their respective countries so strong that they will not allow any country to interfere in their matters. We will develop our country on our own in a peaceful atmosphere. There are so many countries who have gone far ahead of us but to our eyes only Pakistan is visible. We should also have a look at other countries. So far as Pakistan is concerned, it is a very small country and even if it uses all its 84 China made missiles against India

even then some part of India will remain intact. But we favour peace in the whole world including Pakistan, Nepal, China, Bhutan and Sri Lanka. But in case any of these countries behaves like this, then it is our firm determination and the determination of this House also that we will do everything possible to retaliate with iron hands. But we do not favour the nuclear arms race. This is a fact that we do not want to join the arms race.

So far as the issue of corruption is concerned, we should remember a speech delivered by Pt. Nehru in 1963. When the issue of Five Year Plan was being discussed, late Shri Ram Sevak Yadav said to Nehru that his planning system has led to increase in corruption, poverty, price rise and unemployment. To this, a leader like Nehru, who was a man of great heart, said that these things remind us of Gandhiji. The development of our country can be achieved through agriculture and not through big factories. Had Pt. Nehru survived next few years till the next plan, I am sure, he would have changed his policies. You may read the speech of Pt. Nehru delivered in 1963 which is available in Parliament Library. Pt. Nehru had admitted his faults. Therefore we should also come forth and admit our faults which we have committed in the past, so that we can make our country great. We should always take into account the interest of the country. If we move ahead by keeping in our mind the battle fought by our freedom fighters, I am confident that our coming generation will remember us as well as our freedom fighters. We have to fight another freedom struggle as has been urged by our hon'ble Speaker also. We celebrated 100th birth anniversary of Gandhiji in 1969 and 50th anniversary of Quit India Movement. Now we are celebrating Golden Jubilee (50th year) of our Independence, therefore, let us ensure that this celebration does not remain merely a formality. A four days special session of this House has been convened to grace this occasion, therefore, let us ensure that it does not remain merely a formality. In case we bring forth a resolution how many of us will be unanimous on it? Hence, I want to make my submission right now here that if we want to move ahead, we have to steer the country ahead, we have to make the country great then we should resolve unanimously that there should be no difference in our practice and profession. The people of such nature can never render their true service to the country.

With these words I conclude.

13.46 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned for Lunch till Fifty Minutes past Fourteen of the Clock.

14.57 hrs.

The Lok Sabha re-assembled after Lunch at Fifty-Seven Minutes past Fourteen of the Clock

[SHRI BASU DEB ACHARIA *in the Chair*]

MOTION RE : STATE OF DEMOCRACY AND DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS, ECONOMIC SITUATION, POSITION OF INFRASTRUCTURE, ACHIEVEMENTS AND POTENTIAL IN THE FIELD OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY AND STATE OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT IN THE COUNTRY—*Contd.*

SHRI SURENDER SINGH

[Translation]

SHRI SURENDER SINGH (Bhiwani): Mr. Chairman, this session has been convened on the occasion of Golden Jubilee of our Independence. There has been a special discussion by all the parties on our achievements and failures during the last fifty years. Of course the discussion was non political in nature. On the very first day, the discussion was non-political and no one was personally attacked. Almost all the leaders while speaking more or less tried to explain our weaknesses and pondered over the steps to be taken to remove them but when Shri Mulayam Singh ji was speaking in the house today, his speech was politically motivated and it appeared as if he is preparing for the next elections. Some of the members from the Congress side also spoke in the same vein. No doubt all members of the Parliament are willing to participate in the elections but, how we are going to face and convince our voters in the field or constituencies. This has to be kept in mind. Whenever we visit our constituencies during the elections' we tell our voters that we have tried to protect and uphold their rights and we have tried to defend the interests of the weaker sections and backward classes. By and large all members try to be champions. Keeping in view the tendency of their voters. I wish to tell the reality to all my friends that our country got independence because of the long and collective struggle fought by our forefathers. Gandhiji set an example before the whole world as to how a big country like India can achieve Independence through the means of non-

violence and satyagraha. Our other freedom fighters contributed a lot towards independence. More or less all the political parties made there contributions in building the nation in their own way.

15.00 hrs.

The political party which ruled the country for longer period contributed more in the progress of the nation. Those who remained in power for lesser time, got less chance to make the contribution to the country's progress and in addition to it there are a host of other leaders who either remained in the government for sometime or played their role in opposition. They also made their contribution. But Madhavrao Scindiaji, participating in the debate from Congress side has left the House after making a passing reference sarcastically to our friends who are sitting on this side, and whose parties are in Government in the States. I do accept that all political parties have played equal role in nation building and for any shortcomings that might have been there, the blame must be equally shared by all. While participating in the debates many of us here, I am not referring to just one political leader or party, often brand a particular political party as communal quite oblivious of the fact that that very communal party was their partner in government in 1977. The role of our friends who sit in the middle has also been changing time and again. I have also sat with them for a long period. I was a Congress M.P. in the Rajya Sabha. I fought my first election as an independent candidate. Some of our leftist friends have not changed their seats because of the principles and if they compromise, it can be concluded that nothing more can be done under those circumstances. While our political parties have contributed to nation building and in making the democratic system a success our voters have also been wise. There have been many occasions when our electorates have mended the erring or non-performing politicians and political parties. In 1977 the Congress Party rule was changed by the people. People had high expectation of the government which replaced it but constituted as it was of various political parties, it could not pull on. In 1980 the people put another set of politicians in majority.

I want to say one thing, for the last thirty days this issue is being discussed that there should be a common code of conduct for every party, every politician and if it is adopted for nation building, it will prevent us from going astray. Principles of political parties also undergo change. Sharadji spoke very well about principles yesterday. I also belong to a political family. I have been fortunate enough to have been in the company of those who were rulers of the country, governing from Delhi. We will have to put an end to the practice of casting aspersions and attempts at character assassination indulged in by partymen. No Member of any party who is sitting here can claim that he or his party can do without the vote of the weaker sections. Voter may be Harijan or backward, today every political party tries all the time to find some or the other slogan which may enable it to fight elections and come to power.

Indira ji remained the Prime Minister of this country for a long period. She gave a slogan from the government side 'Remove Poverty'. Mr. Chairman, I do not mention any particular individual, but any Congress friend should tell this thing to me whether poverty has increased or decreased in this country after circulation of this slogan. The blame for this cannot be put on a single individual. Some of our political parties tried to give such a direction to the country that the countrymen started thinking away from reality. Maximum responsibility, to make a success of the country and its democracy, lay on the shoulders of those people who occupied the treasury benches for a very very long period and our friends who are sitting on this side, Sharat Chandra Patnaik was speaking and referring that ho is a veteran Congress man. So long as I remained in the Congress party. I discussed it with my senior colleagues and like-minded people that today our party our country can progress only if you skip sycophancy. Mr. Chairman, Patil Sahib is sitting here, other senior members of Congress party are also sitting here. There was a time when some of the highest functionaries of Congress party proclaimed that

[English]

Indira is India: India is Indira.

[Translation]

and providentially, all of us lost the elections in 1977. We ceased to have our government in Lok Sabha. Some of the politicians started deposing before the Shah Commission to the effect that they had no option but to do what they were told to. What I want to ask is: what is the character of the politicians. In 1975-76 they asserted that

[English]

Indira is India. India is Indira.

[Translation]

In 1977 they started saying that it was a mistake. Indiraji was blamed for the defeat of the Congress or Congress Govt. and they deposed before the Commission to that effect. In 1980, with the grace of God, the people again gave mandate to Indiraji. The people who appeared as witness before the Commission they said that they were helpless. My father was expelled from the Congress party. Everybody assumed that if he goes to the house of Chaudhary Bansilal his name would be blacklisted. When the situation changes in this country the nature of the politicians softens too much. Shri Narasimha Rao is not sitting here, when they are in power they receive so much heroworship that even an ideal is not worshipped that much. But when they are out of power, they are shunned by people like sin. I would like to urge you that all political parties should decide that they would not indulge in character assassination in manifestoes, we would contest election on the basis of our manifesto. All political parties should constitute a committee to frame manifesto before election. Mr. Chairman, Sir, I honestly state that even the candidates don't go through their manifesto thoroughly. The members belonging to all parties are here, they may tell as to what was the issue in the first election manifesto of any party. I was a Congress candidate in 1982 in the election of Legislative Assembly. A lot of material is sent for election publicity from Delhi on behalf of the party. A truck came to us and gave us two bags of manifestoes. The man who looked after my documents asked them to take back manifestoes and provide two bags of flags. People ask for flags. There is no need of manifestoes. We all know manifesto. Shri Mulayam Singhji is here, I respect him very much. I ask for his pardon, there are so many other leaders also present in the house. Don't include us, we are not leaders. The man who contests election, first checks the list of caste combination to know which constituency has how many Jats, Brahamins, Ahirs, Yadavs, backwards and so on, then, any one becomes the champion of these castes and by speaking against other castes, he becomes leader of these castes. It does not matter if he has not done anything for that caste. Our country has made much progress. Our voters have been taking very good decisions. They have defeated big leaders and elected big leaders. The topic of Emergency was raised in the House on the first day. Our Opposition leader Shri Vajpayee was saying that no one has ever expressed regret on it. I admit that matter was regrettable. But Mr. Chairman, Sir, at that time in the year 1977 there was such an atmosphere that all the Congress people could not get opportunity to express regret. All were in courts. Some one was in some Commission. The biggest regret is that when any political person gets defeated, there is mob mentality in this country. The people of every political party take the clue about the shortcomings of the Government and how the Government may continue. In the last but one Session, there was a discussion that women should be provided 33 per cent reservation. I am for it. I say that this reservation should be increased from 33 per cent to 50 per cent, but we should also see as to where our country is going? 5-7 years earlier, Gram Panchayat Act was amended to the effect that now women may became Sarpanch and Member in Gram Panchayats. Today many women are Sarpanch and Members. I was on a visit to my Constituency some days ago. I asked a man of the village as to who is the Sarpanch of that village. A man who was sitting beside me, told me that people call him Sarpanch. I said that the application which I have received is signed by a women Sarpanch. On hearing it, that man took out a seal from his pocket and said that this is the Sarpanch. On my asking as to who is that woman Sarpanch, he said that it is the Sarpanch. Then I asked who signed it. He replied that he had signed that and that he was her husband. Then I asked as to why he signed it. He replied that She also signed like my signatures because I have taught her to sign.

Therefore, until we educate each woman politically, every woman has the right to do her work by safeguarding her rights... (*Interruptions*) Sister, I have talked about Haryana. I am in favour of reservation for women. It is necessary to provide 33 per cent reservation to women in this House and in legislative Assemblies. I want to put a suggestion before you keeping in view the Election Law, corruption, democracy and administrative system. When we would provide 33 per cent reservation for women in Constitution. After that every woman can contest election but they should be given full rights. Indiraji ruled our country for a long time... (*Interruptions*)

I would like to submit that we should accord priority to population control in the code of conduct for parties, no matter the Government belongs to which party. When in the year 1975-76, the programme of Family Planning was launched in a vigorous manner, due to it we all got defeated but it is required today. If all the M.Ps decide and in the previous Lok Sabha there was a discussion that if a man has more than two children, he cannot contest Lok Sabha or Legislative Assembly election. I consider that even two

children more but our increasing population is eating in to the progress of this country. Inspite of starting more new trains by the Minister of Railways and more new flights, we don't get tickets for trains, there is waiting list, we don't get tickets for flights, there is also waiting list there, there is waiting list for telephone connections and also for L.P.G. connections. The person, who has more than two children should not be allowed to contest election... (*Interruptions*). Let us decide in this regard unitedly. The person, who has not married, may be nominated, I don't have any objection to it. The officer, who has more than two children should not get promotion.

Mr. Chairman, Sir in the end, I would like to submit that there is colonial hangover on bureaucracy even today.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, bureaucracy is the biggest obstacle for any political man in power. Deve Gowdaji had rightly said in this regard. Today there are so many M.Ps present here. According to the Constitution, they have high status, but if any Member of Parliament wants to talk to any Secretary, he does not come on line for a considerable time and when he comes on line and speaks, it appears as if he is over burdened. First of all they don't meet. Sometimes they say that they are going to bathrooms and sometimes in meetings. They go in kitchen. It is a matter of shame for us. There are very few officers like Sardar Manmohan Singh who are committed to the cause of public and the country. Therefore, if, we, the people of political parties consider this issue carefully, then first of all we would have to correct ourselves. There have been discussions, several times and sometimes this side attacked and sometimes other side attacked. Sometimes a political party has common interest against one person.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, when Deve Gowdaji came to seek the vote of confidence in this House and after he made his speech, he hugged Narasimha Rao ji in such a manner as if two brothers were meeting each other after separating at the time of the partition of India and Pakistan because they both were afflicted by the same person. We do not rise above party politics. Therefore, through you, I would say only this that we should change our election law. We should make provision in our code of conduct to see that character assassination is prevented. Such programme should be formulated for providing employment to our unemployed youth in which provision for job oriented education may be made, so that they may be assisted. So far as election is concerned, drastic change should be made in election laws. It is my request to you.

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL

[English]

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL (Latur): Sir, I would like to congratulate the hon. Speaker for having made arrangements for this Special Session of the Lok Sabha and also for getting a book produced and circulated to the hon. Members to facilitate the debate. In this debate, I think, excepting one or two Members, and that too on one or two points, all Members have risen above the party lines. They have spoken keeping in view the situation developing in the world and in the country and the long-term interests of the people. This is one of the biggest achievements of this Session.

I would like to speak on the amendments to the Constitution for some time and two or three other points. Then, I would like to concentrate on science and technology. Some Members said that decorum in the House is not properly maintained and that we shall have to resolve and take some steps to see that the proceedings are conducted in a manner which is befitting to the Parliament. Some suggestions have also been made by them. Fortunately for us, there appears to be an agreement on those suggestions.

I would like to make three points with respect to the working of our Lok Sabha and Parliament. One point which I want to make is that the hon. Members, who come here, find that they do not get enough time to make their points. All the time, they are struggling to get the time and to make the points.

Can we do something to see that more time is made available to them? It is very difficult for us to have more than 24 hours of a day and yet we shall have to apply our minds and see if we could find some device to provide more time to the Members. In my opinion, if the Committee system that we have is strengthened and more jurisdiction is given to the Committees and if more Committees are constituted and they are allowed to look into the matters which the Members want to raise, probably, this difficulty could be solved to some extent.

We have seen that in this Parliament we have been raising issues which are relevant to our constituencies; to our States and to the present times. But sometimes we get a feeling that we are not paying enough attention to the mega issues—issues which are relevant to the world situation; issues which have national implications and issues which have long term implications. Now, if this is the deficiency, what can be done?

It is not enough for us to pose the problem and leave it untouched. In this Session we have seen that all of us are not touching the smaller issues but we are making speeches on very important issues. Is it possible for us to have every year in the Budget Session, four days devoted to the mega issues, the national issues and the long term issues as we have done in this Session? This is something which has to be considered by us.

Fortunately for us, the Secretary-General of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, Mr. Arthur Dunhoe has been invited to see as to what we are doing in this Special Session and he has been very kind to come regularly to the House and watch the Members speaking here. I had an opportunity to meet him yesterday. In the course of our discussion he said that he was very much impressed by the manner in which the discussions took place yesterday in the House and even if there was no structured agenda as such, yet the level of the debate was very good and the debate was not acrimonious and was not on small points but it was on long term issues and on mega issues. He would like to suggest to other Parliaments of the Commonwealth if they would also be able to do something of this nature.

This is something which has been said by a person who has seen the Parliaments in the world. It should be possible for us, if there is a consensus, to have something of this nature and then the burden on the Government will also be reduced.

There is one more point which I want to make with respect to this. The Members of the Lok Sabha have very big constituencies. A member of the Lok Sabha sometimes represents 1.5 million voters—sometimes less, sometimes more. These are too big constituencies. In the United Kingdom, the Members of Parliament represent hardly 60,000 voters and here we represent 1.5 million voters. Is it possible for us to increase the number of Members? The Constitution has provided that up to the year 2000 A.D. the number should not be increased. But if elections take place on time and not before time then the next elections are going to be held after the year 2000 A.D. So, we could make a preparation for increasing the number of Members in the Lok Sabha, in the Rajya Sabha, in the Vidhan Sabhas *i.e.* the Legislative Assemblies.

If we do that I think more representation will be given and it would help in solving some of our vexed problems. I would come to those problems—problems relating to the reservation of seats for women in Parliament and in the Legislative Assemblies etc.—later on.

Some countries have a Third Chamber where a large number of Members sit. The number of Members sitting in the third Chamber is around 3000 to 4000. These Members meet once in a year that too not for many days—for 15 to 20 days—and discuss only mega and long term issues. They lay down the outline of the policy. The outline of the policy is then given to the regular Parliament which makes laws within the policy outline. They pass the Budget within the policies which are given to them and also criticise the Government keeping these things in view. If democracy and the Parliamentary system have to evolve in our country and if we are not only to follow what is happening in other countries of the world, I think, something of this nature will be required to be done.

SHRI G.M. BANATWALLA (Ponnani): Is this an elected body?

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: Yes, it is an elected body.

Something of this nature has to be done. This is a very very big suggestion and I am sure that it is not going to be easily accepted. This is something which has to be considered by all of us to see that if Parliamentary democracy has to be there and if we want to retain it, it has to be modified and strengthened. Something of this nature can certainly be done. This is not the final word on this problem. There may come so many other suggestions also. We could accept them also.

I was trying to find out whether in the 50th year of our Independence someone has spoken on the Constitution of India or not. Certainly some hon. Members have made references to some of the provisions of the Constitution but the Constitution as a whole has not been considered. Probably this is not an occasion also to consider it. May be on the Golden Jubilee of the Constitution of India, that is 2000 A.D. this issue may again be discussed. It will not be out of place to consider whether the Constitution that we have has functioned well and has produced results or not. I am of the opinion that the Constitution of India is one of the finest basic laws that we have in the world today. I am of the opinion that it has done well. It has solved many of our problems. It has been responsible for sustaining the democracy, Parliamentary system and other such institutions that we have in our country. At the same time, I am of the view that this Constitution is not free from defects. I would like to say that certain defects have been thrown up and

have become visible to us. It will be necessary for us to see as to how those defects, these lacunae, can be removed so as to make the Constitution more effective and more powerful. I will just briefly mention as to what can be done. I will not be in a position to go into the details because the time available will not permit me to do so.

I have seen many Constitutions in the world which have been emphasising on Science and Technology, Environment, Art and Spirituality. They are the Constitutions which have certainly evolved in the present time. Our Constitution also refers to some of these subjects but the emphasis is not very strong. To make that emphasis effective and strong, it should be possible for us to introduce these elements in the Preamble as well as in the body of the Constitution.

There is a chapter on Fundamental Rights and there is a demand made by some of the hon. Members in the House that right to work should be included in the chapter on Fundamental Rights.

There are other Members who have said that these basic rights—right to work, right to education, right to health and right to shelter—should be a part of the Fundamental Rights. If we do not have these rights given to the individuals in the country, of what use is the right to travel or speak which is available to a hungry man who does not get a loaf of bread to eat, who is not in a position to get a job? So, the suggestion is, let us include these rights in the Chapter of Fundamental Rights. But, the objection raised, when the Constitution was being drafted and now also, is that it may not be possible for us to have the right to work and such other rights included in that Chapter, to enforce them and to use them.

I am personally of the opinion that we should first understand the meaning of 'right to work'. 'Right to work' does not mean the right to do a job which a man wants, or he is capable of doing. If there is a man who has done his Ph.D., it is not necessary for us to give him Professorship. But if you give him a job which fetches him some money, say Rs. 500, which helps him to sustain himself, the right to work is given to him. The responsibility of the State is to see that he gets enough out of a job to sustain himself. Having not been in possession of an industry or any job, or any land, having a body and mind which can work, if a man is willing to work and if the society is not giving him work, and the State is not giving the work, what are the options left to him? One option is to beg. The second option is to commit theft or suicide. The third option is to go starving. This should not be allowed in the country.

I am of the opinion that if we add some more amount of money to the money spent on employment guarantee schemes in various States in the country, it would be possible to give the right to work. That is why, I do feel that this is the time we have to consider it. The Government, fortunately, has come forth with a Bill which says that right to primary education is guaranteed to the children. If we are moving towards giving right to education, not full education but primary education, at least it should be possible for us to give right to work and other rights also to the citizens in the country.

We have a chapter in our Constitution on duties. It is necessary for us to consider what kind of duties are enjoined on the citizens under this chapter. One of the things which has to be done, along with the right to work that should be given to the citizens is, to say that the citizen shall have a duty to work also. The Japanese Constitution is very clear on this point. In one Article only, the Japanese Constitution says, "The citizen shall have a right and duty to work." If you give a right to him and if you impose a duty on him, it would be easy for us to produce more to strengthen the economy of the country as well as to provide the right to work to the citizens of the country. But these are the issues on which there is not going to be an agreement among the Members very easily. But this should certainly be considered by us at this point of time.

15.34 hrs.

[SHRI NITISH KUMAR *in the Chair*]

There was a very good suggestion given by one of the Members that we might assess as to how the Directive Principles have worked in the country. Directions have been given to the Union Government and the State Governments to make policies and to implement them. But the time has come, after fifty years of Independence, when an assessment of the implementation of the directives given to the Union Government and the State Governments should be done. Whether we do it by having a Committee or in any other fashion, it is left to us. But the time has come when we shall have to consider it.

As far as the State is concerned, we have three wings—the Executive, the Legislature and the Judiciary. I have already spoken about the Legislature. The Executive is not stable. I find that not many Members of this House have spoken on accountability and stability of the Executive. But the fact remains that whenever the Executive was not stable, gold was sold outside the country.

You just consider this thing. The instability in the country affected the economic situation, gold was sold outside the

country and this exactly happened when the Executive was not strong. It is not for apportioning the blame I am saying this. But in that kind of situation itself, there is weakness and because of that weakness, the economy is affected and that is why it has become necessary for us to see that the Executive remains reasonably stable, not absolutely stable. How can it be done? some people suggest that we may allow the people to vote in such a fashion that there is a stable Executive. All right. If it is possible, let us do that. Some people suggest that we may have a leadership which can provide stability. If the right leadership can be found, let us have that kind of leadership. But the sure method by which this can be done is by amending the Constitution. As to how the Constitution can be amended is really a question which has to be considered. I am not suggesting that we may have a Presidential form of Government, a semi-Presidential and a semi-Parliamentary form of Government. I am suggesting that we may continue with this Parliamentary system and at the same time, we may have a devise by using which the Parliament can provide with reasonable stability. I am not talking of absolute stability but reasonable stability. I am not going into the details because the time available will not permit me to do so.

Judiciary in our country is the most prestigious wing of the State today and it is respected in the country. I think people should respect the judiciary and people should do everything that add to the strength of the judiciary. But the fact remains that the cases are not being disposed of within time they should be disposed of. The tendency in the court is very big and it is agonising to see people waiting for 20, 30 years for a case to be disposed of. Can we not do something in this respect? My suggestion is, we may modernise the judiciary; my suggestion is, we may have arbitration; my suggestion is, we may have tribunals; my suggestion is we may have more courts; my suggestion is, let us have more judges appointed in the courts. Let us modify the procedure which is followed to dispose of the cases and we will have the effect on the disposal of the cases pending in the courts in India.

Judiciary these days is considering many issues and they should consider them. But at the same time. I do think that it is necessary for these three wings of the State to function in a fashion which does not create contradictions. We have the alimentary canal which digests the food; we have the blood circulation system; we have our brain and the spinal cord and other nerves. These are the parts, the most important parts, of our body. Supposing the alimentary canal is not working in coordination with the blood circulation in the body or the brain, then the body itself will not survive. The State is an organic whole. The Executive, the Legislature and the Judiciary are parts of the organic whole. If there is no coordination in the functioning of this organic whole and that coordination has to be brought about, not according to the wishes and discretions and whims and fancies of the Executive or the Legislature or the Judiciary but according to the Constitution of India. The State may suffer and this has to be realised by the Legislature, by the Executive and by the Judiciary.

With regard to the Fundamental Rights, the Right to Work should have been given by the Legislature. But Legislature did not do that. That is why, the court said that the Right to Life includes the Right to Work. Now, if the Legislature is not doing its duty and the judge is doing it, we cannot complain against it. But supposing the Judiciary is taking the decision, which has to be taken by the Executive or by the Legislature; supposing we are saying that the Constitution can be amended but the basic structure can not be amended. Now, this kind of a provision is being introduced in the Constitution by a judicial decision. It will have far reaching implications and we have seen that this judgement is there in the book of judgements and we have not considered it. Either we say that this is correct and amend the law to incorporate it and say that only the Constituent Assembly shall change the basic structure of the Constitution.

Or, we say that this is not correct. But we cannot leave it like this in between. So, all the wings of the State have to function and function effectively; they have to function in a coordinated manner to achieve the aims and objectives set by the Constitution.

There has to be a good relationship between the Union and the States. A suggestion was made that we might give more powers to the State. If it is necessary to give more powers to the State Governments, let us do that. But one principle which should be followed while deciding what kind of powers should be available to the Union and what kind of powers should be available to the States is to see that the States are strengthened and the Union is not weakened. That is the fulcrum, basic principle which should be used while giving more powers to the State Governments. One principle which we have to bear in mind is to see that the Union is not weakened and the States are strengthened. As to how we can do it can be found out by us and let us do it that way. I think, this is enough as far as the Constitution is concerned.

There are two or three points which are made by hon. Members while speaking here and I am in full agreement with what they have said. If I say this much and say what are those points, my speech on those points may be complete. The points that are made are that the political democracy by itself is not sufficient; we need economic

democracy and we need social democracy also. They have said that political democracy, economic democracy and social democracy should go together. I am going to add and say that there should be political democracy, economic democracy, social democracy and cultural democracy also. There should be political, economic, social and cultural justice done to the citizens in the country. If we do not do that, we shall suffer.

But I have come to the conclusion that if you want to have political democracy and justice done to all, politics should depend firstly on values and secondly on ideology. If values are not there and if ideology is not there, politics is going to be fragmented and the country is going to be destabilised and we are going to suffer.

In the area of economic development, what is necessary is values; ideology and planning. Of course, planning will be done on the basis of ideology but at times, we do not attach importance to planning and probably we are withdrawing and going away from it. If planning is necessary for individuals, for the companies and for the multinational corporations, do we say that planning is not necessary for the development of a society and a country? What is planning? Planning fixes priority; planning avoids mismatches; planning economises on time and raw materials and energy which are the inputs for the development. If we are giving up this kind of planning, we are not going to benefit. Of course, yes, there are market forces. But the market forces are more relevant in the market than in many other areas. We are not throwing the market forces to the wind. But if you throw planning to the wind, individuals will prosper but the country will suffer. The concept of planning is not a Communist concept. Some people think that it is a Communist concept that it is an outcome of the Communist ideology. It is true that the Communist countries adopted it. But it is not a Communist concept; it is a scientific concept. It has to be accepted and used. If we do not do it, we are likely to suffer.

As far as social democracy and justice, cultural democracy and justice are concerned, again one should have the values and the broad-mindedness. If we are narrow-minded, if you do not want to allow women to be empowered, if we do not want to have the people who can produce results to come to power and work, if we do not want the backward areas to develop, it is not going to help.

If we do not want poverty to be eradicated and yet we want the country to develop, it is not going to help. If we do not want science and technology, modern technology to be used, we do not want planning to be used, we do not want that the people should have the capacity to hold the reins of the offices which they run then it is not going to help. This is the first part of my speech.

I come to the second part of the speech. It relates to science and technology. It is not necessary for me to dwell in detail on the importance of science and technology. I must say that in the speech which was delivered by the former Prime Minister, Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao, he said that science and technology and that too very advanced as well as the medium level science and technology and appropriate science and technology are necessary for economic development.

But I am going one step ahead and say that for all round development science and technology is important. We cannot have the development of the society without having recourse to science and technology. We cannot have a different kind of culture which is a world culture acceptable to all without depending on the modern technology which is available today. So, for economic development, social development, cultural development, for defence purposes for going into the future and making use of the areas which are not being made use of, at present, we need science and technology. We find that we have gone from agriculture to industry. From industry to the services, from services to knowledge. Knowledge of science and technology and knowledge of management etc.

New knowledge and science and technology are going to be the most important, that is why, we shall have to develop science and technology in the country. What have we done to develop science and technology in India after we became independent.

I would say that we tried to create scientific temper in the country. The respected Leader, the then Prime Minister, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, was one person who was going to the villages and giving speeches on atomic energy and this and that. His colleagues used to say, "Why are you talking of all these things? The villagers do not understand all that". Then we would say, "They do not understand, that is why I have to speak to them, so that they understand". He tried to create a scientific temper. That was the one thing.

Second is, in the universities and colleges, we started science courses. Today, fortunately, for us, we have more than 5,000 science colleges and more than 300 universities in which science is taught.

The third thing which we did was that we established different departments. Fortunately, for us we have many departments today. We have Department of Science and Technology; we have a Department of Atomic Energy, Department of Space, Department of Electronics, Department

of Ocean Development, Department of Non-Conventional Sources of Energy, Department of Genetics and the Department which deals with research and development in matters relating to the Defence.

These are the Departments. This is the infrastructure which has been created by us and through these Departments and through the Commissions that we have, CSIR, the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, is one such institution then ICMR is another and ICAR is the third one. Under these umbrella organisations, there are about 300 national laboratories established and they are working. At present, we have nearly 300 national laboratories in our country and they are working. This is the infrastructure we have built.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH (Chittorgarh): Sorry for the interruption, Sir. Because a reference was made to a former Prime Minister and really by chance, I have something for the information of the House. This is an address given to the opening of the Indian Council of Cultural Relations in April 1950. I am saying this because there is a query after this which I wish to address to. The then Prime Minister, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru said the following.

> "I should like to use another word 'science'. What is the scientific approach to life's problems. I think it is one of examining everything, of seeking truth by trial and error and by experiment, of never saying that this must be so but trying to understand why it is so and if one is convinced of it, of accepting it or having the curiosity to change one's notion the moment some other proof is forthcoming, of having an open mind which tries to imbibe the truth wherever it is found."

It is purely by chance that I have it. The query I have is: how to inculcate this scientific spirit in the practice of politics with which this House is seized?

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: I am coming to that.

[Translation]

MR. CHAIRMAN: He has already spoken. You were not here at that time. He has taken up this issue earlier also. This is the second part of his speech.

[English]

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: I am grateful to the hon. Member. I am going to touch upon that part also. I will come to that.

SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE: One person wanted an Astrology Department.

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: I am going to cover this point also if the hon. Chair permits me. I seek your indulgence. I would require a little more time.

So, the infrastructure is built. What is the outcome of this infrastructure? The outcome of this infrastructure is that we developed two most important policies. One was the science policy which was given in 1958 and the second was the technology policy. These are the two policies which cover the science and technology in all departments and in all fields. They do not touch upon only a section of it used by the departments separately. Apart from that, these departments have developed their own plans, their own policies and their own trust areas and then they started developing.

For instance, the Department of Space has its own policy. I have not found any plan which is better than the plan made by the Space Department. Not only that they have a good plan but they are sticking to that plan very meticulously and producing the results on time and achieving the results and goals.

We have enough of manpower. 3.5 million scientists and technologists are available in India. I was reading a report given on science and technology in China and I was comparing that report with the report given by us. What was said in the report given in China? (*Interruptions*) Since I have mentioned about China, Shri Chatterjee may like to say something and it is going to be complimentary and not uncomplimentary.

What is said in the Chinese report is very interesting. We shall have to study it very minutely. The Chinese report says, if it is necessary, we will import the technology from outside and allow the experts to deal with the technology, to come from outside. This is their statement.

In India, we have never, never said that we would allow the technology to come from outside and along with that expert also would be allowed to come. What we have said is, if necessary, we would get the technology from outside but we have never said that to deal with that technology, to use that technology, we would need experts from outside and allow them to come. This is the difference. Here the human, technological and scientific resources are available in plenty. Today, the complaint against the Science Department of Government of India is: why is there a brain drain? There is no complaint that we do not have enough number of technologists and scientists. Why are the people going from here to other countries they ask? The

Government of India has been saying that we may let our boys go abroad to learn and if they want to come back, they may come back with more knowledge. We do not want to stop them going and coming back also. But the fact remains that we have enough scientific and technological manpower in the country. We do not have to depend on any other country. This is one of the biggest achievements. This achievement in this area can be compared with the achievements which we have made in the area of producing foodgrains for our people.

We do not have to get foodgrains from outside. We do not have to get experts from outside. In this area we have established self-reliance. We are relying on ourselves.

Our young and bright scientists are making name for themselves and also for the country, going to the industries and laboratories in most advanced countries and they are earning not only name but the foreign exchange also for the country. (*Interruptions*). The point I am making is that here is an area where achievements have been made.

What is the second achievement that we have made? There are many things about which we can talk about. We can talk that technology is available for producing the different varieties of improved seeds; irrigation facilities would be available; cultivation practices can be done with the improved technology; we have animal husbandry; we have the white revolution; and all those things.

As far as industrial areas are concerned, we are in a position to produce cloth which cannot be sold in the market and outside the market. The problem today in India is not having enough cloth for the people in the country, the number of which has gone up from 33 crore to 96 crore, but the problem today is what to do with the cloth that we have. It is not being sold in the international market and in the country also. This is a problem of surplus. Now, here, we have become self-sufficient.

Then, in the advanced areas, we have done extremely well. Satellites are launched and those satellites are made by our scientists. I would like to say that not only the satellites are assembled by our scientists but 80 per cent of the components are also made in the country. The launch vehicle is also made by us. Of course, we know about missiles, Agni, Prithvi and all those things. I am not going into those areas. Those are the areas of special nature and it is not always necessary for us to shout to the world and say that "this we have; and that we have" and things like that. If we have, we have if we need it, we will have it.

Now, we are in a position to make submarines; we are in a position to make frigates; we are in a position to make ships; we are in a position to, at least, assemble any kind of aircraft in the country; and we are in a position to establish atomic reactors. We have a different kind of reactors like heavy water, light water, fast breeder reactors, etc. One of the things which is very relevant with respect to atomic energy is the fuel cycle. We shall have to get it from the mines of ores and turn that into fuel and after it is used, the spent fuel has to be kept in a fashion which does not cause harm to the living things. That cycle is mastered by our scientists.

There are so many other things. However, I am not going to speak about them. But this is not enough. This is not something on the basis of which we can rest on our oars. Something more has to be done. What are the difficulties which are being faced? Let us understand those difficulties and let us try to suggest the solutions also. What are the difficulties? The first difficulty is the funds. We need more funds. The Union Government is spending Rs. 2,000 crore to Rs. 3000 crore on science and technology. I understand the difficulty of the Government. The money is not easy to find. There are demands on the available money by different areas of activities and yet we shall have to realise that more money has to be found. Now, I was a little unhappy—I have no reason to be unhappy—but then I felt that way because I have a sort of affinity towards this activity when it was "you earn one rupee and we will give you one rupee". This kind of arrangement cannot help our science and technological development. This is an investment into the present and the future and the Government has to stretch its imagination and its resources to find more money for the development of science and technology.

16.00 hrs.

The second problem with respect to the funds is that the State Governments are not spending enough. The Union Government is the only Government which is spending the money. The State Governments are spending very little amount of money on development of science and technology. They shall have to spend more money.

The Third aspect is that the industry is also not spending enough money on research and development. Sometimes, we do not say that industries are not spending money. I do not know why are we afraid of telling our friends in the industry that they should spend more because ultimately it is in their interest. But the fact remains that the public sector industry as well as the private sector industry is not spending money and they should be asked to spend more money. I was all the time asking them to join hands and find more funds. If one industry is not in a position, let all the industrialists in the electronics area join hands and have

research and development facility. Let the automobile industrialists join hands and find the funds.

The second difficulty is we are developing laboratory-scale science and technology but not turning it into the consumer-scale science and technology. There has to be graduation from the laboratory-scale to the user-scale for which the engineering skill is required. I think we are weak in this area and we shall have to apply our minds and see that this area is strengthened. The engineering which is required is to be strengthened.

The third aspect is that there are so many misconceptions. I shall have to say a few words on these misconceptions. I know when Bhakhra Nangal was constructed what kind of criticism was levelled it. I know when the satellite was launched into the sky all the time we were told that there was no drinking water and we were asked why we were launching the satellites. Shri Rajiv Gandhi was very kind to see that to tone up the administration.

16.02 hrs.

[PROF. RITA VERMA *in the Chair]*

I think the lady will be equally kind to me.

SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE: I hope you do not expect more. ... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: I am just making a plea to her.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Well, I have learnt my lessons from him.

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: Thank you, you are kind.

I was saying that there are misconceptions. When satellite was launched there was criticism. When we use advanced technology then we are told that it is going to kill the employment potential and we should not use it. When we are using computers we are criticised and then we are asked as to why we are doing it. There are many-many misconceptions with regard to induction of modern technology and science. One of the most important misconceptions is that the induction of the advanced technology reduces the employment potentiality. This misconception has to be dispelled.

A very good question has been asked. Let us take the example of Japan. It is a very thickly populated country. Japan is using robots and the most advanced technology and yet what is inexpensive in Japan is the goods and what is expensive is the human services. How and why has this happened? How and why is this going to happen in the country? If you have the advanced technology and if you are using the advanced technology in an industry probably, the number of persons working in that industry or in that area of activity will be reduced. But then that machine, that advanced technology produces more. It requires more raw material and you shall have to produce much more raw material to feed that machine, that advanced technology. When we are producing more raw material, we are employing more persons. We have to transport the raw material from where it is produced to the industry. A lot many people are required to transport the raw material to the place where it is turned into finished goods. When we take it out from the industry and take it to the market, we again require more persons for transportation. To sell them, we need more persons. When the consumers use them for maintenance we require more persons. If we count the hands that would be required to manage what is produced and to be produced by using the modern technology, it will be realised that the employment potential is not reduced but it is increased.

That is exactly why in Japan which is a thickly populated country we have human services very expensive whereas the goods are very inexpensive.

Take for instance agriculture. I am giving the example of Maharashtra. I was holding the Agriculture Portfolio in Maharashtra. The engineer friends in the Irrigation department told me that only 18 per cent of the cultivable land could be irrigated with the water that we have in Maharashtra and later on they told me that if we link the canals that would go upto 35 per cent. At the third stage they told me that if we used the technology which was used in Israel, computers and tubes 75 per cent of the land would be irrigated. Now you just think of the result of introducing the advanced technology. Computer means just the machines with chips. You have the machines fixed to the flaps which allow the water to flow from the canal into the field and automatically they drop down and the water flow is stopped there and thus we irrigate more land. We who are here and who have the experience of cultivating the land know that unirrigated one acre of land cannot sustain one person, but irrigated one acre of land can sustain more than five persons. So, let us think whether the induction of technology is generating employment or reducing the employment.

I was producing the seed in my field and for ten *guntas* of land I was using one hundred persons. For transferring the pollen grain from the female flowers to male flowers.

So, we shall have to understand this fact and we have to be very clear in our mind.

Shri Jaswant Singh was asking as to how to dispel this misconception and how to create awareness. Let us talk to the people. Let us understand it and then talk to the people. When we talk to the people they will understand it and once they understand it they will adopt it. What is really important at this point of time in our country is to dispel this kind of rampant misconception with respect to science and technology. Sometimes we are surprised that very knowledgeable persons also are getting up and saying that if you have this technology this will go wrong. I am sometimes very sorry that the so called progressive parties are opposed to modern technology on the ground that the employment potential is reduced. In fact the employment potential is not reduced.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You have already spoken for fifty minutes.

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: I will seek your permission. I will not take any time in the next Session. But let me complete, please. I will not take much time.

MR. CHAIRMAN: How much more time do you require?

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: Very-very short time.

One thing which we have to understand is what can be done by us. This is my last point and you can realise how much time I would take. What can be done really to develop science and technology which will be useful in the next century and the next millennium? This is the only point which I want to make. According to me, this is the most important point. First, let us modify the Science Policy and expand it. For fifty years we have used the Science Policy. It is restricted to the development of human resources, restricted to creating scientific temper and establishing laboratories. We shall have to go beyond that. We should expand it to other areas of activities like space, oceans, informatics, agriculture, etc. For agriculture of course we have ICAR and they have their own policy. But the time has come when we shall have to have a second look at the Science Policy statement which is one of the fine statements made, very briefly but very cogently and correctly. The second thing which we have to do is to select the areas in which we should work. It is not possible for us to work in all the areas. What are the areas which can be selected? In my opinion the one area in which we can do our best is genetics. Fortunately for India, there is genetic wealth.

But unfortunately for India we do not have the science and technology which can help us to use the genetic wealth. The mismatch in the world today is that there are countries in which there is genetic science and genetic technology but there is no genetic wealth and there are countries where genetic wealth is there but genetic science and technology is not there. Fortunately, for us, India is a country where the climate is very propitious for multiplication. That is why we have a large number of human beings, a large number of cattle herd and a large variety of plants. That has really helped in creating the genetic wealth which has been inherited by us from millions of years. That wealth is there and we should develop our capacity to use it.

The second area in which we should work is electronics. Of course, electronics is the technology and science of the new era. We should have to develop that.

The third area is energy. Shri Sharad Yadav spoke about *jal shakti* and Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao referred to it. He referred to solar energy and non-conventional sources of energy. I am of the firm belief that if we develop the technology and the science which is necessary for using the solar energy, thermal energy or photovoltaic energy or photochemical energy, which is available from the sun, we need not depend on any other source. But this is not going to happen in a shortime and immediately. There are forces in the world which are opposing this and they are giving all sorts of arguments against it. I think, everything is costly at the beginning. If you produce it on a larger scale, you will be able to make it inexpensive. India is a country which has a lot of sunlight and, I think, we should use it. If we use the solar energy, the wind energy, the wave energy out in the ocean and bio-gas, at least the domestic requirement of India can be met out of it. The energy thus saved can be used for industry.

The next point I wish to talk about is the fusion technology. The fusion technology, according to me, is the most important technology. Now, it is with fusion of atoms in the Sun that energy is developed. If that technology is available to us on the Earth, there will be no dearth of energy. There are theories propounded that there is going to be a dearth of energy and so there is a limitation on the development of industry. According to me, there need not be any dearth of energy. This Cosmos, has matter as well as energy. Matter is turned into energy and energy is turned into matter. Only, we have to see that we are in a position to acquire the technology for tapping the energy which is there. I am saying that it is in universe; in the Cosmos. If we are planning, if we are looking into the next millennium, we will have to look to something of this nature and acquire the necessary wherewithal.

The next issue is the population control. They are saying that the population should be controlled and very good

speeches have been made. We should compliment them also. But the fact remains that the technology and the medicine and the science which is required for controlling the population is not developing in the countries where the population is growing; not in China, nor in India. It is coming from the western countries. Should we close our eyes to the big problem? Why should we not spend the money required for the development of technology in this area? If we do it, I think, we will be in a position to control the population.

There are three more areas which are not relevant to the next century but they are relevant to the next millennium. We will have to consider them. We are not sitting here, as individuals, to plan only for one year or five years or for fifty or hundred years. But we should look into the future beyond that. What are those areas? According to me, the ocean is the area which is full of resources and potential; the space is the area which is full of potential and resources. That is why in Hindu mythology also they say that the Goddess of Wealth came from the Ocean. The resources are unutilised, untouched. They are virgins there. We have food, we have oil, we have minerals and we have energy in the ocean. Everything which is available on the land, under the land and above the land is available in the ocean also. The ocean occupies two-thirds of the available area while the land occupies only one-third.

Fortunately for the humanity, nobody has established his country's sovereignty in ocean. It is open to all of us and it is available to all of us. That is why, if we look into the next millennium, it would be necessary for us to develop the knowledge which is required for utilising the resources and then develop the technology for utilising the resources. For this purpose, it will be necessary for us, for the Government of India and for all of us who are sitting here to have more universities which can develop the knowledge with respect to the ocean resources.

My next point is about space. I was very fascinated to hear from one of the scientists that nothing is bigger than the space. It is unlimited and the potentiality available in the space is also unlimited. The next moment, the scientist said, 'Probably, man's mind is bigger than the space'. So, these are the two areas—the space and the men's mind which have to be explored and used. I am repeating that this may not be done in the next one hundred years, but it may be done in the next millennium. We have to have that direction. We have to march in that direction. What is available in the space? Everything is available there. We say that knowledge used to come from *swarga* and all those things. Now, the information is coming through the space.

Space will be used for many purposes. The only thing we have to do is to apply our mind. It is unlimited. The potentiality is unlimited. What we require is knowledge and technology. It is easier to explore the space than the ocean or the land. It is not easy to have the technology which can control the earthquake, but we can go into the ocean and get information. It is still easier to go into the space and do it. We shall have to develop it.

The next area is the world of mind and knowledge. Shrimati Sushma Swaraj was speaking and I was very happy to hear her speech. She said that there are so many people. That means so many brains and limbs. Each brain is a factory which can produce knowledge. The only thing which is required is training. I have said that in the next century what is going to be most required and what is going to be most expensive is the knowledge—the knowledge of science and technology, the knowledge of management and the knowledge of informatics. This knowledge can be generated in the mind of man. The science deals with the outer world. We have to develop the science which deals with the inner world too.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You have already spoken for one hour. This is what I have learnt from you.

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: I apolog . I will conclude within a minute. Now, what is important is not time but space.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please conclude.

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: In the world of ours two things have become visible. One is science and technology and the other is spirituality. Today, when Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao was speaking, he was hinting at spirituality. In my opinion, science and technology and spirituality are one and the same thing. Spirituality starts where the science ends. According to spirituality, nothing is created and nothing is destroyed. Matter and energy can inter-change. According to spirituality, there is divinity which is the same everywhere. According to science also, according to theory of conservation, nothing is created and nothing is destroyed and in the ultimate analysis living and non-living things have one and the same essence. If we take science and technology and spirituality together, we will have a new culture—a culture which would be a culture of India, which would be a culture of the world and would be a culture of the universe. This culture will develop our outer world and the inner world. This will give us a holistic approach to the problem which is being faced by the humanity and other species also. That is why while considering science, we should not miss spirituality. Science and spirituality should go together. Mahatma Gandhi said that science without spirituality is demonic and spirituality without science is lame. We do not want to be either demonic or lame. We want to be holistic and human. We have to adopt that approach.

With these words, I conclude.

SARDAR SURJIT SINGH BARNALA

[Translation]

SARDAR SURJIT SINGH BARNALA (Sangrur): Madam Chairperson, I thank you for giving me an opportunity to speak. It is a good decision that a special session of the Parliament be convened. We are witnessing for the last three days that discussion is going on in a good manner. We have never seen such atmosphere in the House earlier. Very good speeches have been delivered and they have been heard attentively. There is good attendance in the House. Members of Parliament want that they should get opportunity to speak. Due to this many members remain present in the House. Those who were making effort to speak they may got chance today and those who are making effort today they may get chance tonight or tomorrow. Proceeding of the House is going on smoothly. The House should be run like this.

A few days back Vajpayee Saheb had written a letter to all the members. I also got that letter. In that letter some suggestions were given to maintain the dignity of the House One of them was that question hour should not be disturbed. Second suggestion was that we should not go into the well of the House. Members gather in the well of the House that causes noise as a result of which no business of the House is possible. Third suggestion was that when hon'ble President address both the Houses, he should not be disturbed. During his speech Sharad Pawarji had appreciated this spirit and said that he and his party would extend their cooperation in this regard and they are ready to follow it. I would like to submit that I and my Party are ready to accept these suggestions and we are ready to cooperate. We also want to maintain congenial atmosphere in the House.

Madam, I would like to put forth suggestion from my side and it should also be included therein. My suggestion is that many times Members raise slogans here as we do in streets, Markets or at the time of Public dharana, it should not be done.

50 years of our independence have passed. The book which has been distributed among us is well drafted. It has also mentioned that we have completed 50 years of our independence. But there are only three lines about it.

[English]

India achieved Independence from foreign rule after non-violent struggle.

[Translation]

These are the only words mentioned therein. There is no mention about the sacrifices of the people made for the cause of freedom. Many people had made sacrifice. Today when hon'ble Sushma Swaraj was speaking, she was saying that a student can not tell the names of ten such people who have made sacrifices for the cause of independence. She was true. The knowledge about it is diminishing. This incident is 50 years old. There may be many members in the House who were not born at that time. Those who are 55 years old, also do not know what is slavery. New generation does not know what slavery is. Those who have lived under it they know about the salvery. There were some people in the country who had lived under dual slavery. They were slaves of Britishers at the same time they were also slaves of kings. There were so many such areas in the country. Those who have not seen slavery they do not know about it. I would like to submit proudly that those who have made sacrifices for freedom they should be mentioned. As per data available it appears that 121 persons were hanged. It means they may have done something for the country due to which they were prosecuted and hanged. I feel pride to say that out of them 93 persons were from Punjab and were Sikhs. 1200 people were awarded life imprisonment. Life imprisonment is a long period, under this punishment, almost whole life is passed. A history has been made for lodging people in the cellular jail of Andaman. 1200 people were awarded life imprisonment. Out of them 76 per cent people were from Punjab and were Sikhs. I am proud of it. We have extended praise-worthy contribution, the people of this country do not know about it. I was saying so because ...(*Interruptions*) at that time Haryana was our part and they were our partners. Therefore, I am submitting that great sacrifices has been made for the cause of freedom. Non-cooperation movement was launched against the Britishers in the country which was called as *Kooka* Movement and *Namdhari Andolan*. They bear straight turban and they have been the members of Rajya Sabha. Namdhari movement was launched and 91 Namdharis were blown off by canons. Such sacrifice has been made which should be mentioned in the history so that coming generations may know that heavy cost has been paid for this independence.

It is not so that non-violent struggle was launched and due to which Britishers left India and we got independence. That is why I am mentioning all these things here. Similarly a vessel reached at Bajbaj dock in Bengal and left for Canada. The name of this vessel was Kamagatamaru. The people of Punjab hired a Japanese vessel and when it reached Canada, it was not allowed to enter into the dock and when they came back and got down near Bajbaj dock of Calcutta, they were killed by the Britishers. The people killed in this incident were also from Punjab. The people of this country are aware of the incident of Jallianwala Bagh. This incident was so crucial that after 1919 a fresh independence movement was launched in the entire country. At that time people joined Akali movement. 500 people lost their lives in Akali Movement and thousand of people were sent to jail. Sacrifice has been made for the freedom of the country. Mahatma Gandhi had mentioned about it and said:

[English]

"The first battle of freedom has been won."

[Translation]

Mahatma Gandhi has himself written it and he had conveyed congratulations for it.

Madam, there was a princely state in Punjab named Nabha. The people of the country used to take a part in the freedom struggle but the king of this princely state Ripudaman Singh had also participated in it. When the ceremony of enthronement was being performed, a British agent came there to give crown, he refused to accept it and said that this is his crown. Since this crown belongs to my father, I will not accept it from your hand. As a result he had to forgo the throne and he was arrested. Thereafter he was sent to South. He died after 18 years in Kodaikanal. After that another movement was organised which is called as Jaiton movement and sikhs from distant areas came here to participate in it. Pandit Nehru himself had gone to take part in this movement and he was arrested in Jaiton and sent to Nabha Jail. He has mentioned about it in his autobiography. Mahatma Gandhi and Nehru used to take part in such Morachas and Mahatma Gandhi praised this Morcha and said that after great sacrifice this country has got independence. Therefore, I was saying that there should be some mention about it so that coming generation could become familiar with the history of Independence.

Likewise, fifty years have passed since our Constitution was framed. Just now Patil Saheb was stating that sometimes it becomes necessary to amend the Constitution. The Constitution doesn't remains relevant always, so some amendment would have to be made.

Madam, two years after the formation of the Constitution first non-Congress government comprising Akali and others came into the power in Punjab. They formed the government by constituting United Front but within two years that government was dethroned. First time article 356 was invoked there. It was opposed. The power is concentrated in the Centre. At the time of framing the Constitution it was decided that our system would be federal. But it has been centralised gradually. It is not me saying so but Mr. Speaker has also said in his speech that it has been done. When Mr. Speaker was speaking, he said:

[English]

> "We have a highly flawed system of management of administration. It is a highly centralised administration, away from the people. A billion people and a vast subcontinent that we are, there is no escape for us from our administrative management being meaningfully decentralised."

[Translation]

The issue of Centre-State relation came into existence when the Centre grabbed all the power and started misuse of that Centralised power by using provisions of Article 356 first in Punjab and then in Kerala. The regional parties which have built power enough to participate in the Government, started raising this issue. In Punjab this issue was raised by Akali Dal and in Tamil Nadu by D.M.K. and then Assam Gan Parishad and Telugu Desham raised their voices against the concentration of power in the hand of Centre. Gradually, this issue gathered momentum and the Government came under pressure to set up Sarkaria Commission. It has been mentioned here:

[English]

> "A comprehensive review of the Union-State relations was undertaken by the Sarkaria Commission. The Commission, whose Report was published in 1988, made several recommendations for enabling a harmonious working of the federal polity by minimising the tension areas. The fast changing political scenario in the country has made the implementation of the Sarkaria Commission's recommendations in their totality somewhat difficult."

[Translation]

This issue was left in such a way. Yesterday, D.M.K. Minister Mr. Somu was stating that Article 356 should be abolished because they also had to bear the burnt of this Article. He also mentioned about Centre-State relations.

Although Sarkaria Commission does not cater to the entire need, still it should have been implemented. United Front Government has also kept Article 356 in its common minimum programme and the implementation of modified report of Sarkaria Commission has also been mentioned in it. Their ministers while making their speeches in the House, are also complaining about non-implementation of the recommendations of this Commission. They had enough time to implement it because there was right occasion. The constitution should be amended as per the wishes of the States. Pt. Nehru had moved an 'Objective Resolution' in the Constituent Assembly as to what should be our Constitution.

[English]

"The underlying philosophy of the Constitution was set out by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who moved the Objectives Resolution which, to him, was 'a declaration, a firm resolve, a pledge, an undertaking and for all of us a dedication'."

[Translation]

While presenting this Resolution he gave this trust to the countrymen. What was stated in "Objective Resolution'? Was it about autonomy? It stated—

[English]

"Minorities, backwards, tribals, depressed and other backward classes shall be provided adequate safeguards."

[Translation]

All these things have been mentioned in that but whether any of these recommendations has been translated into action? Has safeguard been provided to minorities? I would like to state somewhat about it because I also belong to minority section. Nobody in the House talks about minority. Today, what treatment they are getting?

[English]

Even religious places are not safe.

[Translation]

In Amritsar we have a very sacred religious place. Army barged into it and demolished the structure. This place is thickly populated but they demolished our religious place. The religious places of minorities are not safe today. In such a situation minorities will be safe? It has created an atmosphere of insecurity. Chandrashekhar ji has rightly said that when minorities speak, they do so with their full might because their number is less and they have to make the farthest man to listen their voice. Their problems and grievances should be heard with open mind. When our religious places are not safe, how can we let people trust that they are safe but this has to be done. What were the basic features of the Constitution? It is mentioned in it that there would be rule of Law and there would be equal justice but I find that these two things have failed. Everyone justice but I find that these two things have failed. Everyone has seen the rule of law during November 1984 when a great leader of the country was murdered. No doubt, murder was very bad. Her body guard who murdered her was a Sikh. It is also bad which is a matter of great condemnation. But after that it was stated that the sikhs should be killed wherever they are found. These champions of secularism who still have a lot of praise for secularism, were up in arms and started killing sikhs in the name of secularism. The houses, trucks and factories owned by sikhs were marked for recognition and put on fire and the sikh owners were killed. More than three thousand sikhs were killed in the capital of the country. Such a massacre had taken place in Delhi during the period of Nadirshah. This carnage continued for three days and the police watched all this as a mute spectator. Neither army was called nor any effort to stop it was made.

Then there comes equal justice. No legal proceedings were initiated against them even after 10-12 years. Efforts were made to initiate legal proceedings against people against whom cases were registered and affidavits were given. We came to know that looted goods were recovered from the houses of many of them. After the operation Blue Star, I was lodged in Panchmari jail of Madhya Pradesh in solitary confinement and remained there for 10 months. Badal Saheb, Tohra Saheb and Sant Longowal were lodged in separate jails. But we came to know through news received after 3-4 days that the looted goods were recovered from the houses of some people. In Delhi, televisions from someone's house refrigerators, from someone's house, scooter from others and car from some one else's houses were recovered. But I am sorry to say that no case was registered for recovery of stolen property and looted goods, while these recoveries were made in front of every one. As per the law, the person, from whose custody looted goods are recovered, he is considered theif and against him a case of theft is filed but there were hundreds of people from whose custody looted goods were recovered but no case was registered against them. After ten years and much efforts, some culprits have been booked and punishment has been awarded in two-three cases. I am very glad that two big leaders who were involved in massacre in the name

of secularism have cases against them in court. A third gentleman also did the same act in the name of secularism but Delhi High Court has ordered in its verdict to file case against him.

[English]

The High Court ordered the CBI to reinvestigate Jagdish Tytler's role in 1984 riots.

[Translation]

The heinous acts done by them have been mentioned in the verdict of court.

[English]

The Petitioners widows Jaswant Kaur, Pritam Kaur, Balwinder Kaur—had alleged that though the police registered cases on their allegations that Mr. Tytler had come to Kabir Basti at Malka Ganj on November 1, 1984 and had incited a mob which burnt alive eight Sikh persons and injured scores of other persons, he had not yet been arrested and no case was moved further.

[Translation]

Eight people were burnt down. Such incidents took place in Delhi. It is a matter of sorrow that so many incidents took place in Delhi. So much blood-shed took place in Delhi but not even a single word of condolence was expressed in this House. A condolence motion should have been moved here. I still request you and the House that at an appropriate time that we must pass a motion of condolence. Three-four thousand people were killed in Delhi, thousands of houses were looted, burnt, Taxis and Trucks were set ablaze. Some sort of condolence should have been expressed by this Parliament. The conventions of this Parliament were not adhered to at that time. We must have expressed condolence for two minutes because we express our condolence here even on small things. I will again urge upon you and members of the House that condolence must be expressed at an appropriate time that we are sorry about the massacre in Delhi and we express condolence for that. Such things must be done here.

About equal justice, I would like to ask that whether it was equal justice with us? 13 years have gone and after 13 years High Court has made judgement that C.B.I. should inquire into it. Now after 13 years, investigation has started. How long it will go, one year, two years, what will happen to it, we don't know. We don't know how long the case will go in the court and whether the witnesses will be alive or will die. Therefore, we could not get the basic feature of equal justice enunciated in the Constitution So, people feel very sad and suffered. Such an atmosphere has been created that Sikhs in the country are known as terrorists and that is not happening at one place but everywhere. Such a propaganda was started and every Sikh was termed as 'Terrorist'.

I am very much surprised to read from the book I have received because this has been prepared after very hard work, but in it also, it has been mentioned casually. There is one chapter in it on violence and Terrorism. This is on page 17-18. It is mentioned there that ten thousand people were killed in Kashmir in violence.

[English]

Over 10,000 lives have been lost on account of violence in Jammu and Kashmir since 1992

[Translation]

Subsequently, it came that such things happened in Assam in 1996, then Nagaland, Manipur, Tripura, Meghalaya were also mentioned and violence by Naxalites is also mentioned but it has not been mentioned anywhere that such people were killed by Muslim terrorists in Kashmir. Nagaland has been mentioned but it has not been written anywhere that Christian terrorists were there or Christian militants were killers there, it has not been mentioned. Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Hyderabad have been mentioned, but nowhere it has been mentioned that any Hindu Terrorist was there, who killed. No one has been mentioned But when the name of Punjab was mentioned, then the mention have been made in this book about Sikh Militants. I am sorry that it has been mentioned like this.

[English]

Sikh militants despite restoration of normally in Punjab are making efforts to revive terrorist activities.

[Translation]

Why the word 'Sikh militants' has been written there, why Sikhs are being defamed? These were the same Sikhs, who has sacrificed so much for the country for the freedom of the country, for maintaining the freedom You called the same Sikhs as Militant. I will request that this has become trend in our country, this should not happen in this way. This book will go abroad also. The people of all countries will also read it.

[English]

Is every Sikh considered as terrorist? Why should they mention Sikh militant? A militant is a militant A terrorist is

a terrorist. Whether he is a Hindu or a Muslim or a Sikh or a Christian, he is a terrorist. Why should it be done like this?

[Translation]

I have objection on it. Still such things are going on which should not happen. The words 'Sikh militants' should be deleted from the book. I am talking about equal justice and minorities. I was not expressing only for myself. Other people also came under minorities. Muslims are the largest minority. They are in big number. They are 12 per cent. Same is the case in regard to Christians, Sikhs. In all they are in big numbers. We cannot leave them. We cannot say that leave them and we will manage. Country will not be seen without them. The country has never been run without them neither it can be run. That is why, constitutional provision has been made to safeguard the minorities. They must feel that they will live in the country in a proper way. They will not be kept in this country as second class citizen. It is a matter of concern that today this is happening. Just now someone from that side was speaking. He mentioned that Muslims are getting one per cent jobs. If we go according to their strength 12,14 or 15 per cent or what soever extent their strength has increased. If crores of people of a particular section gets 1 per cent jobs in the country then where will they go, it is not the right treatment. The same happened to us in army. When the country became independent, the Sikhs were 21 per cent in the army. In army, 21 per cent jobs were for us. Today, they have been reduced to 5 per cent and now efforts are being made to reduce it to 2 per cent. Your population is 2 per cent so you will get only 2 per cent. Population is being counted even at the place where blood has to be shed for the country. But when the opportunities arise for making sacrifices, then they say 'Go to the front'. Whether it is against China or Pakistan. Then they used to say bravo, very good, come forward. I am requesting that this feeling must not be there. For this, provision has been made in the statute book. But that has not been followed. Safeguards are provided in the statutes but that has not been followed. It should not be there in our minds that we are the largest majority. Minority people are equally important for the country as majority. That is why I was requesting that the rights of minorities should must be safeguarded. They must feel that they can live safely in this country.

Members have said about the restoration of democracy and that democracy has functioned very well. Chandra Shekhar ji has mentioned that a time was there, when emergency was imposed in the country and there was danger to the democracy. Democracy was in great danger. Entire country was under black clouds. We have passed through such a time. Emergency was there in the country for 19 months and we were lodged in jails for 19 months. Chandra Shekhar ji was also with us in Patiala Jail but he was kept in a separate cell, Badal Saheb was kept in a separate cell. When after 19 months Chandra Shekhar ji was released, then we had seen him for the first time, only then we came together, before that we have had not seen him. We all had to live in jails for 19 months. When restoration of democracy is discussed here, it is said that during our time, democracy functioned well that has not functioned in this way, sacrifices were made for that. I am not a professional but a person like me had to remain in prison for three and half years even in an independent country, whereas we had not committed any crime, we had not taken something from anyone, had not killed anyone, but only due to political reasons we were kept in jails. For restoring democracy, we were kept in solitary confinement even after emergency. We were imprisoned in Panchmarhi where we remained in solitary confinement for 10 months, whereas we had not committed any crime.

Now I come to the problem of population. I attach utmost importance to population control because this issue has become a matter of grave concern for us. The population of the country is increasing continuously. Since Independence, our population has increased three folds. We have paid more attention on increasing the population than anything else, and we have succeeded in this effort. Yesterday, someone was saying here that in 2001 A.D., we would overtake China in population. Our population would be 100 crores, that means we are making efforts to overtake China in this matter. We would top the world atleast in population. Our population is on increase but I am sorry to say that when we participate in International Olympics, we do not get even a bronze medal and we return with our heads hanging in shame. We, who take pride in our population of 100 crores, are unable to bring even a bronze medal whereas smaller countries, whose population runs into lakhs, win several gold medals, silver medals and bronze medals. This is our condition. Therefore, I think there should be control on population.

Yesterday, someone was saying that it should not be done forcibly but I would add that without this, population can't be controlled. We don't know when increase in population would stop. The area of the land under agriculture is not increasing, it is constant but the population is increasing. As a result, whatever progress we have made in Science technology, everything is going waste despite all efforts. We are facing a situation similar to that in which the chickens eat whatever they get. Therefore, we must pay more attention towards population control. We should adhere to two-children norm strictly. Those people who talk about

China should know that China has controlled the population not with folded hands but by enacting a legislation and enforcing it strictly. The China Government was particular about one child norm. When the Government enforced the policy strictly then only they could control population growth. Otherwise the population of China would have been more than one hundred and fifty crores. Therefore, we shall also have to strictly restrict the population growth. I would like to give one or two suggestions in this regard.

VAIDYA DAU DAYAL JOSHI (Kota): I would like to inform the House that one of our hon. member, Owaisi Sahib in a letter to the standing committee of this House has said that if family planning was imposed in the country by enacting a legislation, Muslims, who are already annoyed on the issue of Ram temple, would not accept it and it might further create a situation of revolt in the country. His letter is with the Standing Committee and he is very much in this House.

SARDAR SURJIT SINGH BARNALA: We will discuss this matter some other day. We are left with a little time. So, I would like to conclude my speech after putting forth my point.

Madam Chairperson, After two children, we should stop. ...(*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please maintain silence in the House. He is making good points.

SHRI RAMENDRA KUMAR (Begusarai): Madam Chairperson, first you please stop this discrimination. You please fix the time limit. We are also the member of this House. We have also come to this House after winning the elections. Won't we get any time to speak? My submission is that one member is getting 60 minutes and some other member is getting 70 minutes to speak but we are not getting even an opportunity to speak. First, you please fix the time limit. (*Interruptions*)

LT. GEN. (RETD.) PRAKASH MANI TRIPATHI (Deoria): Madam Chairperson, every member is speaking on the same topic. For instance, every one is speaking on population. Is speaking on this issue is enough or the House will take some decision in this regard? ...(*Interruptions*)

SARDAR SURJIT SINGH BARNALA: Madam Chairperson, I am saying that after having two children, the parents should know that it is enough and increase in the family will not do any good. If the third child is born, then one should realise that the child would not get free education, scholarship and the child would not be entitled to any sort of reservation. The child would not get government job or any incentive. When this message goes to the people through media, then it would do some good. When the family realises that having third child would be a loss for them then automatically population will be controlled. Even if we have to resort to some force, we should not hesitate in taking this step in the interest of the country. This is a major and a very important issue confronting the country. We should do something to solve this problem.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please stop talking among yourself and maintain silence in the House.

SARDAR SURJIT SINGH BARNALA: Madam Chairperson, now I would like to speak about criminalisation of politics. Only yesterday I have read in the newspaper. Shri Veerappan now put forth a new condition and he wants to be kept in Jail for two years and after that he would like to join politics. In other words he wants to take rest for two years and after that he wants to join politics. Here we are talking about putting an end to criminalisation of politics and he is soaring so high in his imagination that he would rest in some good Rest-House for two years and after that join politics directly.

Madam Chairperson, Phoolan Devi has come in politics. She has been in jail for 11 years before joining politics. She had surrendered at a very difficult time. At that time I was also in jail. She was in Gawalior Jail and I was in Panchmarhi Jail. There jailor used to hold meeting and through such meetings I used to get information about her. The Jailor of Gwalior Jail used to go to Panchamadhi. She has come here after remaining in jail for a long time. All the members of this House might be aware that she had made an appeal in this House also and apologised to all saying that she had already begged for the forgiveness of the people and requested to forget what had happened. She has come here only after the country, the people of her constituency had pardoned her. This criminalisation of politics should be stopped. We all have to stop it unitedly. A thorough discussion on this issue needs to be held.

Madam Chairperson, issue of corruption has been discussed here at length. Now-a-days corruption has plagued the entire country.

17.00 hrs.

You have seen the condition. You have also seen from where the corruption started and what proportions it has assumed. It seems as if everybody is indulging in corruption Such big scandals have occurred and the entire world started looking at us that our highly placed people are involved in corruption and that how many highly placed people have been alleged to be involved in corruption and how many of

them have been charge-sheeted. All this have been seen by the world but all this announcement should not have been made from the Red Fort that there is neck deep corruption in our country. This announcement from Red Fort was not considered right by the people. They were saying that while unfurling the national flag what was the need of saying that the whole of the country has become corrupt and we are helpless to tackle this problem. He should not have said so there. It was not considered proper by the people.

Secondly, during the joint sitting of both the Houses in Central Hall, such things are discussed. It is not proper to convey such a message to the people from the joint sitting of both the Houses in Central Hall that there is lot of corruption in our country. This message goes not only to our countrymen but also to foreign countries, also that corruption is being talked about as a primary issue on the occasion of the independence day. The people across the world received the message that this is the most corrupt country. We should think about the ways to remove corruption. Some arrangements should have been made for that but it should not have been announced that our country is corrupt and our countrymen are corrupt. He could not state as to what should be done to eradicate it. This is our condition after 50 years of independence that instead of going upwards, we are going downwards.

It was stated that the country has made a lot of progress. Some achievements were also counted in this context stating that earlier even needles and fountain pens were not manufactured here but now we manufacture all kind of things here. Our Defence Minister was speaking just now. He said that we have to compete with those people who became independent with us, about one year earlier or one year later. He referred to China and Japan. If we compare ourselves with them, we find ourselves far behind. He had given comparative figures in this regard. We are far behind in comparison to smaller countries like Malaysia, Taiwan and Singapore. Therefore, there is nothing for us to feel proud of. During these 50 years, we have also done something but it would not suffice. After all we have to compete with other nations.

A good thing has been that we have been able to maintain democracy in our country. In many countries democracy was replaced by dictatorship, but our system remained the same. The condition worsened but the democracy continued. It wavered but did not collapse. The Governments changed frequently after short intervals. Such occasions came but our system, our democracy continued and in between we had a new experience of coalition government. Many parties have come together in this experiment. It generally happens that two or three parties make a coalision but at present 14 parties are running the Government smoothly. It may be due to some compulsions, but, any how, this experiment has also been successful. There have been various experiments in many States also. There has been coalision with different parties at different times. It is happening in many States and perhaps it would happen in some more States also.

I say that our experiment of democracy has been good. There is no need to say that we should adopt the former system or another system, we should continue with our present system. It is going on well. With these words I conclude.

[English]

SHRI PRADIP BHATTACHARYA (Serumpore): I would like to clarify one thing.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You need not clarify anything.

SHRI PRADIP BHATTACHARYA: Things are very simple. I do not want to blame anybody. Is it a Special Session for the Leaders or for all the Members of Parliament? Madam Chairman, the hon. Speaker has told very clearly that for the Leaders, it is 20 minutes and for the rest, it is 10 minutes. Would you like to follow that or not? It is a very simple thing that I would like to know from you. ...(*Interruptions*) Who will control these things? (*Interruptions*). Is it a Special Session for the Leaders or a Special Session for all the Members of Parliament? The hon. Speaker had said that some leaders will take forty minutes, some will take twenty minutes and others will take ten minutes each. Why is this decorum not followed? As a student, I am prepared to listen to the Leaders. I also understand that they are explaining some substantial matters, but we have also got something to say. When will we get an opportunity to express our views? ...(*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: The parties have to follow the time schedule. It is not like this. I think, each of us should request our Members to stick to the time schedule. That will make my work very easy.

...(*Interruptions*)

SHRI E. AHAMED (Manjeri): Madam, I have not been called. *(Interruptions).*

[Translation]

SHRI QAMARUL ISLAM (Gulbarga): We also wish to express our views regarding our country... (Interruptions) We have been waiting for the last three days... (*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please maintain peace.

...(Interruptions)

[English]

SHRI E. AHAMED: Madam, I have not been called. Then, what is the use of small parties here when they are never called to participate in the discussion? All major parties are being called continuously and no small party Member has been given an opportunity to express his views. Then, what is the use of this Special Session of Parliament and the small parties in this House? (Interruptions)

17.06 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

[Translation]

SHRI QAMARUL ISLAM: We wish to put forth our views however, we are being denied the opportunity to speak... *(Interruptions)*

[English]

SHRI SAT MAHAJAN (Kangra): Sir, those Members who have not spoken in the House should be given the chance. All leaders have spoken. *(Interruptions)*. We always hear them. There is a limit for everything. *(Interruptions)*

[Translation]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please listen to me.

...(Interruptions)

[English]

SHRI PRADIP BHATTACHARYA: Sir, what is going on? *...(Interruptions)*

[Translation]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: You could have put across your views calmly instead of in a bilious manner.

...(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please sit down.

...(Interruptions)

[English]

SHRI SAT MAHAJAN: We are also representing our people. *...(Interruptions)*.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Why do you lose patience? I am sorry for what is going on here. Let one Member speak at a time.

...(Interruptions)

SHRI HANNAN MOLLAH (Uluberia): Sir, you take written speeches from all the Members and incorporate them in the proceedings. *...(Interruptions)*

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: If one Member speaks at a time, then I can listen.

...(Interruptions)

SHRI TARIT BARAN TOPDAR (Barrackpore): Sir, you should not ask us to restrict the time when the leaders have encroached upon our time. They are always speaking that everything should be time-bound and repetition should not be there. But the leaders have made repetitions, twice or thrice and went on speaking for more than one hour. Now, you cannot limit the time of others.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please sit down. Now, you listent to me.

[Translation]

One minute Satya Deo Singh ji. This decision was taken during the meeting of Party leaders.

...(Interruptions)

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please listen to me at least. Why do you not listen to the chair atleast?

[Translation]

The decision was taken that there would be three categories of speakers—those who would speak for ten minutes, those who would speak for twenty minutes and those who would speak for forty minutes.

...(Interruptions)

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please listen to me why do you lose patience? Please listen to me.

[Translation]

You were not aware of it. Now I am at least informing you. It was decided that Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee would speak for 40-50 minutes.

...(Interruptions)

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please, why do you not allow me to speak? He spoke for thirty minutes only.

[Translation]

But thereafter some members spoke for more than one hour. I am not going to take any name. In these categories.

...(Interruptions)

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I am sorry, you are not listening to me even.

[Translation]

SHRI RAMENDRA KUMAR: What are you saying?

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please listen to me.

...(Interruptions)

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I am sorry, you have no patience to listen to me even.

[Translation]

SHRI RAMENDRA KUMAR: I do have patience.

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: All right, you continue speaking. Nothing will go on record.

*...(Interruptions)**

[Translation]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The House is the Supreme Body. I would like to know as to whether the House wishes to retain these three categories of the speakers or not?

...(Interruptions)

[English]

SHRI DILEEP SINGH BHURIA (Jhabua): Only two categories should be there.

[Translation]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The most important point is that everybody should get a chance.

SHRI RAM KRIPAL YADAV (Patna): All the members should be given ten minutes to speak. Many members are still to speak.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: That is what I am saying.

VAIDYA DAU DAYAL JOSHI: You were given the opportunity thrice and you have spoken all the three times.

SHRI RAM KRIPAL YADAV: I shall conclude within 15 minutes.

SHRI QAMARUL ISLAM: Yesterday also I sat here all day long. I started my speech and the procedure is that I was to continue my speech today. However I gave due respect to the former Prime Minister and my name was there. I started my speech yesterday. I was on my legs. I have not been allowed today to speak. This is injustice. We do respect the Chair. At least, may I know when will I get the time? It was said that the leaders should speak in the last and others should speak first. That way there will be some decorum in the House. *...(Interruptions)* That should be the attitude. That is the sacrifice we expect from the leaders. *...(Interruptions)*

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: You have made your point. Please sit down. Hon'ble Members, I want that all the members who wish to speak, are given a chance. The back benchers as well as the front benchers should get the chance and in the circumstances, the best thing would be not to exceed the limit of ten minutes, only when everybody would get a chance. If you wish to speak for fifteen minutes, I have no objection but then some of you might not get the chance to speak.

SHRI BASAVARAJ RAYAREDDI (Koppal): The discussion can be continued on Saturday.

[English]

SHRI E. AHAMED: Sir, the leaders can speak for twenty minutes. But everyone should be allowed to speak for ten minutes. Otherwise there will be no time for others. *...(Interruptions)*

[Translation]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The opinion of the House is clear to me.

[English]

Please sit down now. Now we should come to the business.

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*Not Recorded.

SHRI SATYA DEO SINGH

[Translation]

SHRI SATYA DEO SINGH (Balrampur): Hon'ble Deputy Speaker, Sir, through you, I would like to thank Hon'ble Speaker and all the leaders for having convened this four day long special session in order to review and deliberate upon our achievements and our shortcomings in the last fifty years on the 50th Anniversary of Independence, which is being celebrated as a Golden Jubilee of Independence.

Hon'ble Atalji moved the following motion:

"That this House do consider the state of our democracy and democratic institutions. The economic situation, the position of infrastructure, achievements and potential in the field of science and technology and the state of human development in the country."

I think that the last term 'human development' sums up all the subjects. We have made achievements and today we have also got the chance to ponder over our shortcomings. The members who have spoken earlier, have discussed it. I was listening to Shri Barnalaji who made a mention of all these problems. Hon'ble Atalji stated in his inaugural speech that there would be no Question Hour in this special session and no Resolution would be passed. But I feel that the attention of the nation is focussed on us and this House that after 50 years of Independence, the members of the House would cut across the party lines, rise above petty interests and discuss the problems facing the nation e.g. poverty, starvation, inability to solve problems and ever rising population and would come up with some resolution or unanimous decision which will help determine the future course of action and policies. I feel that we cannot confine ourselves within the limits of party politics at this juncture. I think that the House would agree with me in this regard.

As far as possible, I'll try to observe the time limits but as the members occupying the back-benches have been given a chance to speak after quite a long time, hence I would like you to bear with me if I exceed the time-limit.

I would like to draw your attention towards the resolution moved on November 14, 1962 when Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru was the Prime Minister and the country had passed through a crisis. The first crisis were experienced on October 26, 1962 when emergency was imposed. It was passed on November 14, 1962 in the Parliament. Alongside India was invaded by China. A Resolution was passed here in that respect also. We have completely forgotten that resolution. Many other important resolutions were also passed in this House but they are also not being implemented. I will feel happy, if after four day's marathon debate, we emerge successful in evolving something concrete and take action thereon.

In the Resolution passed on 14th November, 1962 we had affirmed the valour and sacrifices made by our Army. That Resolution was wholeheartedly supported and praised by the people of India. It was voice of those 95 per cent our people whose cause we are raising here again and again in our full voice. Our leaders are saying that these people are those poor people who are victims of starvation, who gave a lot of sacrifice in our freedom struggle and who were ahead of others in laying their lives to drive out the aggressor during the China War. We had remembered those people, their sacrifices and unity of the people of this country only in this House, I want to read a few lines from that Resolution which are as follows:

[English]

"With hope and faith this House affirms the firm resolve of Indian people to drive out the aggressor from the sacred soil of India however long and hard the struggle may be".

[Translation]

What is the status of that Resolution today? I do not think that prior to this occasion, we have ever held any discussion in respect of the promises made by us on that Resolution.

Just now Shri Patil, our former Speaker was delivering his speech. During his tenure a resolution was brought in this House. But no discussion was held thereon. The debate on the 1962 resolution lasted for 15 days and many members participated in the debate. Many amendments were brought But the resolution passed in February, 1994 during the session of 10th Lok Sabha was passed without any discussion. That resolution pertains to the conspiracy hatched by Pakistan to break our country. After passing that resolution we have never held any discussion on that resolution till today. I would like to bring to your notice the two portions of that resolution, which make us feel as if

Pakistan was going to give us something on our begging. These are as follows:—

[English]

> "And demands that Pakistan must vacate the areas of Indian State of Jammu and Kashmir which they had occupied through aggression."

The conclusion at the end is:

> "That this House resolves all attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of India will be met resolutely".

[Translation]

I have referred to these two Resolutions so that in case something is decided in this respect in this House, we do not forget these resolutions and our next resolution also is not confined to the shelves among other parliamentary documents.

Sir, on the occasion of the 50th year of our independence, a souvenir has been published by Lok Sabha Secretariat. My submission in this regard is that history of our last 50 years has been the saga of our struggle and freedom which can not be confined in few pages. However, it is a good attempt on the part of Lok Sabha Secretariat, but, at the same time, unknowingly certain mistakes have been committed. I fully agree with hon'ble Barnala ji that nobody is a militant or a traitor by his caste. Using the term like 'sikh militant' has hurt their feelings but this mistake has not been committed intentionally. I share their feelings but it was not made deliberately. About human resource development in our country a reference has been made about Pt. Nehru on the outset of this book, which is as follows:

[English]

> "The ambition of the greatest man of our generation has been to wipe every tear from every eye. That may be beyond us but as long as there are tears and sufferings, our task will not be over."

[Translation]

I think the greatest man referred to in these lines was 'Mahatama Gandhi ji'. Whether we have wiped every tear from every eye? Whether we have achieved our objectives even after 50 years? This requires our immediate attention and if we think over these issues, we will realise that so far we have not been able to understood the meaning of democracy and freedom. Freedom means equality. Freedom means equal share and participation in the nation's affluency, job opportunity, health care and medical facilities, equal participation in the economy of the country, national and cultural pride and feel proud of one's country. But perhaps this definition is not applicable to our countrymen who are living below the poverty line. They are hungry and homeless. Therefore, if this House takes any positive steps in this direction, then I think, there would be at least some positive meaning of this four days' debate.

Wherefrom the self-respect would come? Neither it will come from any good technology nor from any other good feeling. So long as people live below the poverty line, this will remain among the people. The definition of poverty line is also different in the various countries. And according to our definition, largest number of poor people live in India which is the largest democracy of the world. Their number is 330 million and they constitute 36 percent of our total population. Thus, if our population is 80 crore, the population of poor people living below the poverty line would be about 32 crore.

17.23 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

It comes to 36 percent of our total population. Population-wise Uttar Pradesh, the State to which I belong, is the first biggest State of the country and area-wise it is the second largest State after Madhya Pradesh.

According to the census of 1993-94, the people living below poverty line in the State are nearly 41 percent of its total population.

SHRI KALPNATH RAI (Ghosi): What is the population of the State?

SHRI SATYA DEO SINGH: It is about 13 crore. But the population is increasing continuously. The population of the country increases two percent every year. 18 million people are added to population every year in our country and Uttar Pradesh is not lagging behind in its contribution in this regard. Kalpnath ji, this is a fact.

Many poverty eradication programmes are being launched in this country and the result thereof is that... *(Interruptions)*

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: You have spoken for eleven minutes now.

SHRI SATYA DEO SINGH: Other hon. Members have taken a very long time. I think, this is injustice to me. *(Interruptions)*

PROF. RITA VERMA (Dhanbad): The time allotted for the BJP is seven hours and thirty-two minutes; the time allotted for the Congress is five hours and seven minutes. We have not even taken one hour. *(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER: The idea is to accommodate more hon. Members from all political parties. The idea was to accommodate all.

SHRI SATYA DEO SINGH: Even our Leaders have spoken only for a short time. *(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER: It is not like that.

...(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: I am happy to see that everybody is interested to speak on this subject. But we have to share the time.

[Translation]

SHRI SATYA DEO SINGH: Poverty alleviation was the prime concern even during the freedom struggle. We have made several programmes and repeatedly resolved to alleviate poverty during pre-independence as well as post independence period. Our Constitution has also taken care of poor. Under the Article 29 of the Constitution of India it is expected from the State that it would make proper arrangements for livelihood of every citizen. Article 41 envisages that the State should protect citizens. Right to employment and expects from the Government to help the citizens in case of unemployment and helplessness. Under the Article 43, State is expected to provide employment and sufficient wages to all the citizens and ensure a dignified life to them. But today the government seems to be concerned about a choosen few. The policies of the Government are merely for the betterment of 5% rich population of the country and only their interest are covered here in our debates. Nothing is being done for rest of 95 percent population. Sir, we have got the written copy of your speech. You yourself have admitted that anomalies exist in Pay Commission's report. In the face of the increasing price rise and ever increasing requirements, people are not getting proper wages. It is meaningless to talk of giving bonus to them when you are not even in a position to give them wages. In your Speech you have mentioned that as on 31st July, 1997, Rs. 650 crore were due towards public sector undertakings functioning under 17 Ministries. This explosive situation can not be tolerated. You had been incharge of Labour Ministry, that is why these lines reflect your concern for the people. The Government should think over its policies and their implications. We are moving towards 21st Century with 20 point programmes and slogan of poverty alleviation. To start this process, discussions were held with great fan fare. Last time, we have accepted a new 'Trickle down theory' after introduction of globalisation and liberalisation of economy. Order would be maintained, big industries would be set up, roads would be constructed, new motors, cars would be manufactured and benefits of all these activities would percolate to the poor gradually. These poor people have been expecting their betterment through Government's policy for the last 50 years but so their condition have not improved. Inspite of launching several programme and efforts made by the Government poverty and number of poors has increased. The gap between poor and rich has further widened. It is really a serious issue.

Sir, some time back, our former Speaker was speaking and I was listening to him carefully. He said that Japan is a very densely populated country but with technical development it has been able to create employment opportunities commensurating with the job requirement of its large population. If more employment opportunities could be created with a larger size of population, then I think our Government need not worry about ever increasing unemployment as our country would reach at top by the year 2000, and job opportunities would also automatically increase with the increase in population. Employment opportunities should increase with the increase in population otherwise it would give way to poverty. It is not easy to provide employment to everyone and irrigation facilities for very field. We are trying for it since long but despite all our resolutions much could not be achieved so far in this regard. During the last five years in the name of liberalization, globalization and new system of economy, the economic power has accumulated in few hands. Whether this issue would be debated in this Session? We are discussing the issue of poverty. In this age of race for power and materialism I would like to quote Mahatma Gandhi:—

[English]

> "Earth has enough resources to satisfy the needs of every person but not the greed of even one single person."

[Translation]

This is the position today. The issue regarding land reforms has been debated in this House. Economy of our country is based on agriculture but at present land can not be divided further. In such a situation how can we look after the poorest

of the poor. Green Revolution is also mentioned in this Context. Earlier we had to import PL 480 wheat but now we are self-sufficient in production of foodgrains, for which we must thank our farmers, especially landless farmers who tail in fields for the progress of this country. The agricultural scientists, who have worked hard to develop improved variety of seeds for agriculture also deserve to be thanked for it. I am also thankful to hon. Kalpnathji for assisting me in between. I would like to quote from the Annual Human Resource Development report of 1997 because today we are trying to obtain capital systems and technology from foreign countries. This report says:

[English]

> "Unless the global economy is carefully managed, poor countries and poor people will be increasingly marginalised.
>
> The annual losses of developing countries from unequal assets of trade labour and finance are estimated to be at 500 billion dollars. This is ten times that they receive in foreign aid."

[Translation]

This is global scene today. Hon. Chandrashekhar has stated rightly that when one crore and 10 lakh people living in parlance in New York cannot stop begging and no facility could be provided for them to raise their standard of living then how can we hope that they would provide assistance to us for improving the economic condition of 39 or 40 per cent population of this country. We have to introspect ourselves and rise up to the challenge with strong determination for upliftment of our people.

Sir, today more then 40 programmes for poverty alleviation are going on. DRDAs, have been set up in almost all districts. But who are benefited by it? Banks, private banks cooperative institutions and institutions of local self Government are financing these programmes but this money is being embezzled by middlemen. Whether any efforts have been made to stop this practice or whether this issue has been debated here. Whenever issues regarding centrally sponsored schemes are raised, the concerned Minister says that the funds required for these schemes had been released to State but they have no control over these funds. The State Governments are responsible for their monitoring. What is this? Why Central Government cannot monitor the expenditure or progress of a project for which it has provided funds? Whether this House is not responsible to monitor whether poverty is in fact alleviated or not?

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: Please conclude.

[Translation]

SHRI SATYA DEO SINGH: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am concluding in few minutes.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: I have got a list of 24 hon. Members who want to speak from the BJP.

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI SATYA DEO SINGH: Sir, this is related to poverty.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: You are the second hon. Member.

SHRI SATYA DEO SINGH: I am confining to the subject.

MR. SPEAKER: I know that; but I only want to give chance to all the hon. Members.

SHRI SATYA DEO SINGH: I beg your indulgence. I am confining myself only to the subject allotted to me by my party. I am not speaking on a very wide spectrum.

MR. SPEAKER: I know that. My point is that I have got a list of 24 hon. Members who want to speak from the BJP. You are only the second hon. Member from the BJP.

SHRI SATYA DEO SINGH: Yes, I agree to that also. But it is not my fault.

MR. SPEAKER: I know that. It is nobody's fault. It is the fault of the time.

...(Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI SATYA DEO SINGH: Sir, Patilji was speaking about the space. I have yet to say about time *...(Interruptions)*

[English]

He was talking about space.

[Translation]

Sir, my second question which also pertains to poverty is education. What is the situation of country today? We quote Article 45 of the Directive Principles of State Policy again and again. Article 45 says:

[English]

"The State shall endeavour to provide, within a period of ten years from the commencement of this Constitution, for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of fourteen years."

Now, 50 years have passed.

[Translation]

Sir, it has not remained up to here, in 1990 Acharya Ram Murti Committee was formed. This Committee for the first time admitted that primary education should be included in the fundamental Rights. Now it is not the obligation of this Government and the Parliament. A document of United Nations was published in the country relating to the rights of children. Our country is a signatory to the rights of children. What was said in that document? It says that compulsory education is the responsibility of the nation. The Government have accepted it on the international forum.

[English]

Shri J.P. Krishnamurthy was from the State of Andhra Pradesh.

[Translation]

It was decided in the Supreme Court in 1993 and the Supreme Court has said that education upto the age of 14 years should be considered as fundamental right. A Bill relating to it is also lying pending in Rajya Sabha. When will it be passed by this House? So long as you do not educate the people, they will not be able to understand their rights and the meaning of freedom. They will continue to suffer from inferiority complex. Self-Confidence is the most important thing for the progress of this country and today we are doing nothing for building self-confidence among our people.

The Government figures cannot satisfy us. The Government figures may show that poverty has been uprooted from the country and the country is developing fast. We have fast speed vehicles and big aeroplanes. But it is only for the comforts of the five per cent population of the country. But, what is for the 95 per cent people? All know that this country resides in the villages. How much poverty is there? How much they are suffering from poverty? We do not realise their sufferings. We have confined ourselves to this House only.

One more thing I would like to say that the Central Advisory Board of Education has said that there is no need to make primary education compulsory. The education policy was accepted in 1968 and after that we amended it in 1986 but we forgot Article 45 that there shall be compulsory and free education upto the age of 14 years. After that we have not done anything in this direction.

Hon. Speaker, Sir, I would like to bring one thing to your knowledge that today the Children are in pitiable condition in our country. 33 million children out of 105 million in the age group of 4 to 10 years drop out the schools and start work. Their childhood becomes dark. The Government has no system or facility to save their childhood from this darkness. We should now stop talking about Constitutional measures. I think that the expenditure on human resource development is least in our country. I think there should be a provision to spend atleast eight percent on it and five per cent on primary education. The State Governments should be directed that it is for free compulsory education and since education is enlisted in the concurrent list, the States should also enact such laws.

Sir, after education, there comes the question of employment. Today the unemployment is a world wide problem. It is all right that with the advancement of scientific and technical knowledge, employment opportunities are also increasing but with the increase in population, unemployment problem is also increasing. The Planning Commission has admitted that 37.4 percent of total population is labour force in India. We have admitted it in Eighth Five Year Plan. Figures in the Eighth Five Year Plan pertains to the years 1952-57. Number of unemployed in the Eighth Five Year Plan was 23 million in the live-register of employment exchange which has now reached to the figure of 58 million. When I am discussing this problem of unemployment in the House, I know that this figure has gone up by now. I want to say one more thing. Today, we are reducing employment opportunities in public sector, co-operative sector and private and public enterprises. The figures reveal this fact. In 1981, nine lakh people were getting employment which was reduced to four lakh in 1991 and three lakh in 1994.

I want to make an appeal to the House. Poverty has taken such a horrible turn that girls in the age group between 6 to 14 years are being thrown in for prostitution. Due to illiteracy and unemployment these little girls are being forced to adopt such immoral profession and we are just becoming silent spectators. Even after 50 years of independence we

do not pay our attention towards them. We do not even try to remove this evil from our society. When we will be able to uproot such evils? We talk about the dignity of women. We often refer to the Rani of Jhansi. We worship Navdurga but on the other side girls of the age between 6-14 years are being forced to prostitution. Nothing can be more shameful than this. The House should think about it. The aspect of population is related to poverty, unemployment and education. Today the population of our country is increasing. One hundred years ago we were 25 crores. In 1951 our population increased to 35 crores and 80 crores in 1991. It is estimated that by 2000 AD it will be more than 100 crores.

We have succeeded in reducing the death rate in our country. Now the old people are forming a large part of our population. There was a great hue and cry over the population control. An hon'ble member has mentioned about a letter. Government can control population only with the will power. You can only do this according to the requirement of this country. If you do it as per the requirement of this country ...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: Shri Satya Deo Singh, Please conclude.

SHRI SATYA DEO SINGH: I am concluding Sir.

MR. SPEAKER: You have taken 26 minutes.

SHRI SATYA DEO SINGH: I will conclude in four minutes. I beg your pardon.

[Translation]

Politics and religion are mixed therein. Your thinking about family planning has been narrowed with politics of votes. The country is facing the consequences of it. Every year the population is increasing by 18 lakhs. As our ostrich hides his neck under Sand and thinks that the danger is over, in the same way we discuss about our ever increasing population and do nothing to control it. Maximum poverty is in villages. Till the people of villages are hungry, without clothes and helpless they will not adopt family planning. That is why maximum children are born to the poor people. Only one child out of six children survives. They do not get any social security. Poor man of village wants that atleast he must have a son who can look after him in his old age. When he will be weak, his eye sight will be lost at that time his son will look after him. Due to this helplessness, he has more children. Untill the living standard in villages is improved we cannot control population because poverty and population are co-related questions, they are two sides of the same coin. Today all the countries have sophisticated weapons. For destroying the country and world.

[English]

$450 billion are being spent by all countries every year for arms race.

[Translation]

All this is going on but for the poor nothing is being done. History tells that if money is spent for the development of human beings then the pace of development automatically gets momentum.

In the end I want to say one thing. We are not a permanent member here. It was the will of the Hon'ble Speaker that some message should be conveyed from this House. A programme based on basic problems of human beings, poverty unemployment should be formulated with consensus. Today there is no stand of government as well as of the opposition.

Today I would like to quote what Pandit Din Dayal ji, who has been our guiding spirit and a great man, had said in his last speech on 4 February, 1968 in Bareilly while addressing his workers.

Please listen to it attentively. I quote:

> "It is not so easy and simple that we are always ready to do everything for the country. For this there is need of constant purification of mind. It is not easy that four persons should take a decision unanimously. For this there is need of purification, education and habits. If there is patriotic feeling in our minds, then we can work together..."

Through you in this special session, I would like to convey my fellow countrymen this feeling of patriotism and self-respect. I am grateful to you for giving me the time to speak.

MR. SPEAKER: I have not given. You have taken.

[English]

May I appeal to all of you? Let us share whatever time is available. Everybody wants to speak. Ten minutes are enough. The Leader of the Opposition, Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, who had moved the Motion, took exactly 29 minutes. In those 29 minutes, he has put everything before the nation. Others are taking 30 minutes to one hour.

...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER: I want your cooperation. Now, Shri Qamarul Islam, you take exactly ten minutes.

...(Interruptions)

SHRI SOUMYA RANJAN (Bhubaneswar): Sir, I want to make a suggestion. If you want that each Member should finish his speech in time and also to give everybody a chance, please switch off the Television. You will find that the speeches will be short. You will be able to control it.

SHRI QAMARUL ISLAM: It is not because of that.

SHRI SOUMYA RANJAN: I am one hundred per cent sure. I have been waiting. *...(Interruptions)* I am speaking for the first time during the last eleven months. *...(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER: Let us not waste more time.

SHRI QAMARUL ISLAM

[Translation]

SHRI QAMARUL ISLAM (Gulbarga): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am happy that on the occasion of fiftieth anniversary of independence, you have convened this special session. I am thankful to you that you have given me this opportunity to speak after waiting for three days. I understand that this is very precious time and I should utilize it properly.

I do not want to discuss here those issues which have already been discussed. When this country became independent simultaneously the partition also took place. But what is the reason that crores of people belonging to minority community did not go to Pakistan, which was created in the name of Islam and instead decided to stay here. The reason for this is that the Constitution, the Preamble was based on secularism; its base was democracy; its base was socialist pattern. We were of the view that according to the Constitution of this country, as Hindustani, we can live with freedom of religion, we also have equal opportunity, equal rights. When we look at the Preamble and Fundamental Rights, we feel happy. In the Article 25, it has been said that every citizen living in this country has freedom to profess and propagate any religion of one's choice.

When Constitution was being framed in the Constituent Assembly, I could not understand, that one such thing was forced on us and that was Article 44 was added to the Directive Principles and it was said there that there would be a Common Civil Code. A long discussion on this had taken place in this country in this regard. I am saying with distress that several Private Members' Bills have come up during the last more than one year period and some Members have talked about Common Civil Code. At that time, the people of all parties said that the Unity and Integrity of this country is not in Common Civil Code, but it is there in keeping that tradition intact which are permitted by the followers of that religion.

[English]

There are followers of divine law and there are followers of *Varna*. Hence I would like to give one suggestion.

[Translation]

Article 44 is like a hanging sword. You delete that Article of Common Civil Code. Because any Muslim, who has faith in 'Shariyat' any Hindu or Jain or Buddhist, Shiv Bhaktas, Vishnu followers, 'Veer Shiva' followers, feel distressed by the discussion on any such Common Civil Code. There is fear lurking in our mind that though we have been born on this land, we will die here and our forefathers have fought for independence and despite their sacrifices can we live with the freedom of our religion? Whether or not we can follow the provision of Article 25 under Fundamental Rights. It creates apprehension in our mind, therefore, this Article 44 should be deleted in this special session.

The issue related to riots has been mentioned here. We are celebrating 50th Anniversary of the Independence, the records of this country show that not only one or two times but more than 20,000 times, riots have occurred in the country. These riots have occurred between Hindu-Muslim, Hindu-Sikhs, Dalit-Hindu and Shia-Sunni. After all, what are the basis of this important decision? Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru was the most powerful Prime Minister of India. When he used to move, India moved and when he used to speak, India spoke, such was the feeling. He had said that

[English]

Minorities are the symbol of secularism.

[Translation]

A democratic secular country can not make progress socially, educationally and economically if minorities there feel insecure and nothing is done for their welfare and progress. Due to this, there is a provision under Article 30-31 that they would establish their institutions themselves and they would provide education to people themselves. If you take per capita income, the per capita income of Dalits and Muslims is less than the average per capita income. The hon'ble Members sitting here have made many points. Scindiaji is also one of them. Lengthy discussions have taken place on the minorities, 15 Point Programme and riots. There is a mention about recruitment in Rapid Action Force and Police. But the question is whatever is said, whether that has been implemented or not. If these things had been implemented, such situation would not have come up today. Mr. Speaker, Sir, our Opposition Leader Shri Vajpayee has said with a confidence that expressing an apology does not matter. He has referred to emergency. I belong to Muslim Community, hence I am not saying anything to appease Muslims. It means I do not want to hurt the feeling of any Hindu or Sikh brother. As Mishra ji has stated that we are going to tell the world about our achievements made during the last fifty years and we are spreading a message in the world that we have strengthened the democracy in our country. Barnalaji has mentioned many incidents which have occurred here. Blue Star Operation has been carried out. Babri Masjid, whether you call it a structure or disputed structure, has been demolished and on this occasion if we realise that some mistakes has taken place on our part and out of emotions Masjid or the structure has been demolished, it does not belittle our personality. If the Court does not deliver its verdict in this regard, coming generations would lose their faith in the democracy, hence I would like to submit that the structure should be rebuilt and the Supreme Court should give its verdict in this matter. If the Courts gives opinion that this disputed structure was not Masjid, then we would demolish it with our own hands. I am saying so on the basis of the verdict of the Court and the decision of the judiciary of India. We say that Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Christians are brothers. But I would like to say it in another way because it is a special session. This session is being held to ponder over the prevailing condition of the country.

Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Isai,
Sab hain sathi, sab hain bhai,
Aye kahan se julam ke khanjar,
Main bhi sochun, too bhi soch,
Shehre wafa main aag lagi hai,
Jalti hui wah lash pari hai,
Kisae dikhlaya hai yah manjar,
Main bhi sochun, too bhi soch.

We are celebrating 50th Anniversary of our independence and on this occasion, we are here to think about the condition of the country and at this juncture, if we admit our mistakes, I understand that the celebration of 100th year of our independence would be held in this way that the coming generation would remember that. This is the age of advancement. After viewing T.V., coming generation would remember that our forefathers had committed some mistakes by not following the principles of Mahatma Gandhi but a time came when they rectified these mistakes otherwise they will have ill-will towards us. I belong to that community which has suffered thousands of riots.

Kaun azad hua kiske mathe se gulami ki syahi chhuti,
Khanjar azad hai seenon mai
Utarne ke liye,
Maut azad hai lashon par
Gujarne ke liye.

Further poet says about politicians:

"Aiwane adalat main laga lo lashen,
Guldane siyasat main saja lo lashen,
Chand millon ki khatir, chand sikkon ki khatir,
Tumne namuse shahidane watan bech diya,
Are Bagwan ban ke uthe aur chaman bech diya.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to submit that such things should not happen. I would like to say one more thing. I am representative of minorities, hence I have said this thing.

MR. SPEAKER: You have one minute.

SHRI QAMARUL ISLAM: Sharad ji has said that this is our country, he has mentioned about river water, thereafter Patil Saheb and Shri Narasimha Rao have also expressed the same views. Mr. Speaker, Sir, we are from south, people from north are also here where Ganga flows which originates from Himalayas when the Sun is at its peak, it is hot, snow melts and merges in the water of Ganga with high velocity. But Krishna, Kaveri and Godavari rivers flowing in our areas do not flow in such way. I would like to express my desire before the House that if we want to utilise the energy of water and maintain the unity and integrity of the country, we should divert the flow of all the rivers originating from Himalayas towards South and Ganga should be linked with Kaveri and Krishna, then we can ensure that flood and drought does not occur anywhere in the country. We can bring prosperity in the country by linking Ganga with Kaveri and Krishna, utilising the energy of water. The issue related to Solar energy, wind energy has been raised here. I believe that if we implement the policy formulated in this regard with determination, we can definitely bring prosperity in the country.

I would like to say one thing more here that whenever the inter-State water disputes are discussed here, be it between Karnataka and Tamil Nadu or between Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka, I feel ashamed that we could not formulate any guidelines till today to solve all these inter-State water disputes though we have a national policy in this regard. We talk of linking the Ganges with the Kaveri, we want to do everything in that regard but we have not formulated any guidelines so far. Many such cases are lying pending in courts today.

[English]

I am coming from the State of Karnataka where there is a disputed matter. No court can solve that matter. I know that we can find an amicable settlement. We should sit together. The Central Government, the State Governments of Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu should sit together.

[Translation]

I want to say here that the whole country should be treated equally ... *(Interruptions)*

We are talking about the issue of price-hike here. India has a very long coastal line and we know it that water transport is cheaper when you compare it to the other modes. Therefore, when we talk about price-hike, we produce 40 to 50 per cent of petrol of our total requirement, the remaining part of our petrol requirement is imported.

[English]

Why not we develop the mode of water transportation, which is the cheapest mode of transportation?

[Translation]

If we put to use our long coastal area and develop it to promote the modes of water transportation, I think the extent to which we are afraid of price-rise, that could be reduced to a great extent.

The Leader of the Opposition has given three suggestions. His first suggestion is that we should not go to the well of the House. It is a very good suggestion. We have developed bad habits due to being in the Assembly. He is an elderly person, freedom fighter and senior Member of this House. All have welcomed his suggestions and we also accept his all three suggestions that we should not go to the well of the House, should not disturb the Question Hour and should not say anything at the time of the Presidential Address, but I want to add one or two more suggestions.

This year, we have been celebrating 50th Anniversary of Independence. You have been watching how enthusiastic our Members are, how emotional they are and very good discussions are being held here in the House. Some decisions will be taken tomorrow at the end of this special session. I suggest that we should convene a special session of 4-5 days every year in order to see the extent to which those decisions which we have taken here, have been implemented and this will be in our interest.

My second suggestion is that we have adopted the British parliamentary system, we have followed the British democratic system. There is a system in the British Parliament that if a Member wants to say something, there is a box beside the seat of the Speaker. One can make this point from there and mention the same thing in the House too. If all these are made part of the proceedings, I think, our point will also be conveyed to the Government. That could be released for the press also so that a member who wants to make his point, can get a chance to convey his point. Similarly, as the papers are laid on the Table, the points which a Member has made should be made a part of the proceedings so that points made by all the members are taken on record.

18.00 hrs.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I will conclude after making one or two more points. Sharad ji and other members have mentioned about setting up of a university for artisans. Government should pay attention towards that. Similarly, we hear about judicial activism and many other things are happening in the country. We should set up a commission for the appointment of judges on the line of the U.P.S.C. which nominate the candidates for the I.A.S., I.P.S. and I.F.S. Similarly, we should introduce the Indian Judicial Service in the country. This has also been duly mentioned in the Constitution. If we do so, we can get rid of the judicial activism. These are the same I.A.S. and I.P.S. officers. Even a lawyer of repute hesitates to become a judge.

[English]

It is to nip the bud at the early stage of 26, 27 and 28 years. Most intellectuals of this country will go to the judicial service also.

[Translation]

Mr. Speaker, Sir, this is the suggestion which I want to give.

MR. SPEAKER: A very good suggestion.

SHRI QAMARUL ISLAM: Mr. Speaker, Sir, whatever views have been expressed here regarding time-bound programme to remove starvation and poverty, I want to recite a Urdu couplet in that context:

"Footpath par para tha
Wah bhook se mara tha
Kapra Uthakar dekha
Pait par likha tha
Sare jahan se acchha
Hindustan hamara".

SHRI E. AHAMED

[English]

SHRI E. AHAMED (Manjeri): Mr. Speaker, I express my deep sense of gratitude to you for having called me at least at this stage.

MR. SPEAKER: No need of this preamble. Please come to the points.

SHRI E. AHAMED: At the outset, I take this opportunity to pay homage on my behalf as well as on behalf of my Party, the Indian Union Muslim League, to all those who had sacrificed their precious lives for the independence of this country. At this Special Session of Parliament, when we are all assembled here to discuss what happened in the last 50 years and what we will have to do for the next 50 years, I would like to mention an India envisioned by Mahatma Gandhi. Mahatma Gandhi said:

"An India in which poorest shall feel that it is their country, in whose making they have effective voice; an India in which there shall be no high class and low class of people; an India in which all communities shall live in perfect harmony."

In this Special Session of Parliament, we will have to think that after 50 years of our Independence, when we celebrate the Golden Jubilee of our Independence, how did we fair and where do we see India after 50 years. As a matter of fact, the country has made several strides in the matter of achievements in economy and in other fields like science and technology. There is also some truth that remains and that rhetoric is not in any way on par with reality that we have in this country.

It is true that India's economic growth has gone up to six or seven per cent in the past three years. It is true that the process of liberalisation and the structural reforms ushered in a new era and the economy is in the accelerated growth. India has also made substantial gains against widespread deprivation over the last 50 years.

However, there has been a marked decline in poverty in this country. India had a modest success in fighting poverty but it could not reduce poverty as we expected.

We cannot deny the fact, as Gandhiji had said, that India lives in rural areas. Seventy per cent of our population live in rural areas. Sixty two per cent of its work force is engaged in the agricultural sector. There are 5,70,000 villages. Once we go to these villages, we will find that there is no water supply schemes, no electricity, no road and no proper housing scheme. It is an undisputed fact that even now many of our villagers are living in such houses where there is not even a shelter or cover over their heads.

In this Twentieth Century or in the threshold of the Twenty-First Century, in Western countries. I think, even the animals will not tolerate such houses. But unfortunately, millions of our people are living in these houses. These are the realities.

In one of the reports of the Parliamentary Committee on Energy. I found that 87 per cent of the village had been 'electrified'. The Committee had already mentioned that as per the definition of electrification, if there is one electric service connection within the revenue boundary of that village, it will be called as 'electrified.' But 31 per cent of the households till have to depend on kerosene as their fuel.

18.07 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

Sir, what is our water supply scheme? Forty five per cent of the rural population have no accessibility to drink water. This is the India we are living in. Therefore, we have to give a new slogan to our rural people. We have been raising slogans like roti, kapada aur makan. I would suggest

that it should be changed to pani, bijli aur makan. There is no water for the people to drink. There is no electricity and dwelling houses for the people in the villages. Therefore, until and unless we change the scenario, there is no meaning saying that India has made progress in every field. Of course, we have made progress. But these are the factors which we cannot forget.

I know the time limit, therefore, I want to confine myself within the time limit and I do not want to take the very valuable time of this House. However, I would like to mention one important thing, that is, the unity and integrity of India to which every Indian is committed. As a member of the minority community, I would like to inform this House that until and unless every Indian is given fair participation in the affairs of the country, we cannot rest assure that there will be real unity and integrity of the nation.

The Constitution of India, especially the third part of the Constitution, is a *magna carta* of the human rights of Indians, particularly, the deprived classes like minorities. As many of my hon. friends have pointed out here, I would say that the Preamble to the Constitution, after the Objective Resolution moved by Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru in 1947 and in consonance with that policy, has been given throughout the world as to what India is and what India should be. No country would compare with India's record of the fundamental principles on which this nation has been working or building to make the population, the people to integrate themselves to be a nation as such.

As regards social justice, economic and political, liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship, equality of status and opportunity, at this momentous time, Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I would like to urge my hon. colleagues of this House to ponder over and make an introspection whether this country could achieve equality of status and opportunity for all the people. I may be permitted to say this, Mr. Deputy-speaker, that even now there is a large section of our population which has not been given the opportunity to enjoy and share the fruits of development of this country. They have not been given their due participation in the country's affairs. It was under these circumstances, the great leader, Shrimati Indira Gandhi had announced the 15-Point Programme.

After the Objectives Resolution before the Constituent Assembly in 1947 and also after the Constitution came into being, it was Shrimati Indira Gandhi who had broken the barrier which stood in between the large section, the major or mainstream section of the people of this country and the minorities. I would salute to the memory of Shrimati Indira Gandhi who was the only Prime Minister who had first given this call to the nation that the minorities in this country cannot be neglected and they should definitely be given the sense of participation.

But I would like to ask the Government, the Governments that were in power after Shrimati Indira Gandhi and Shri Rajiv Gandhi, whether these programmes have been implemented. I would also wish to say that the 15-Point Programme should not only be qualified but it should also be quantified. The Government had made an announcement that they would review this programme. Will they review it? They should review and the benefits should be given to every member of the minority community and the weaker sections of this country. Then only will they have the feeling that they are also a part of the country.

When I was in a foreign country, when there was a sinister compaign going on against our beloved country in the minds of our people, one fellow Muslim from a foreign country asked me to tell the status of the minorities in our country. He asked, "Are they violent? Is there any massacre? Is there something like that?" I told him that ours was a country of 960 million people. There are various communities. There are different castes, communities and religions. It is a multi-religious, multi-ethnic and multi-cultural society that we have but we have some guarantee in this country. That is the Constitution of India. This Constitution gives me the constitutional protection under Articles 25, 29 and 30. These constitutional provisions are there. I can very well get it implemented through the courts of law as that is the system that we have. But I would like to ask this thing here. When the Executive is to implement a thing, can we just say, touching our heart with our hands, that we have implemented these provisions of Articles 25, 29 and 30? Even now they are not fully implemented. That is our problem.

I fully endorse the views given expression to by my learned friend, Sardar Surjit Singh Barnala in this respect. Even now there is a feeling of alienation, there is a feeling of neglect and there is a feeling of backwardness.

We are talking of empowerment of women. We are not against that. I would mention that in my place, Malapuram, there is a District Council.

There is one Muslim lady, Smt. Mariynmma who is the Chairperson of that District Council. She has acclaimed the recognition from everybody by her sheer hard work and efficiency. There are people. Where are the opportunities? The Muslims have not been given equal status. Of course, that is there in the Constitution. But has it been translated in practice? The empowerment of the minorities is only an illusion. They have not been given the opportunity to enjoy the fruits of development as well as share in power. For

example, take the representation of twelve per cent of the population of this country. They have only 27 Members which comes to nearly five per cent. When Shri Rajiv Gandhi came to power in 1984, it was nine per cent. In the Madhya Pradesh Assembly where the Muslim population is 4.96 per cent, it was not having even a single Muslim Member in the Legislative Assembly. In Gujarat, the Muslim population is 8.73 per cent and there is only one Member from among the Muslims. Is it not a shame on secularism? Is it not a shame on our system? The empowerment of the minorities is an essential factor for the speedy development of the country and it is also in consonance with the provisions of the Constitution. Therefore, we cannot ignore them. The minorities should be given the fruits of development. But they do not have educational institutions. I would like to say that among the Muslim women, 62 per cent are illiterate. However, in Kerala it is not like that. It is only 20 per cent because it is also due to the voluntary work. So, the State has a responsibility in this regard. We have no institutions of technical education.

Then, I would like to say that no Planning Commission, no administration, no Government can ignore these large sections of the people in the formulation of policies and programmes for the development of this country. That is the most important aspect. But, unfortunately, there are many people who are only creating hatred among the people in the name of religion. We must tell them that in this country Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Christians are living in perfect harmony. The political democracy will survive only if there is real fraternity with equality as envisaged in the Constitution. So, the participation of the 150 million people cannot be ignored so far as the Muslims are concerned. I am only giving you a fact of the history. Islamic culture is a part of India's national culture. The unity in diversity should be our motto.

For example, you take the map of India and you give different colours to different States—one colour to Uttar Pradesh, one to Bihar and another to Karnataka and like that. You will find a beautiful picture of the map of entire India with different colours.

The Islamic culture in India which is a part of Indian culture is as strong as the Red Fort, as tall as the Qutab Minar and as beautiful as the Taj Mahal which nobody can perish in this country. I am sure every right-thinking Indian, whether he is a Hindu, a Muslim, Sikh or Christian will never allow to ruin or damage such a glorious culture that we have in India. The need of the hour is urgent resolution of the conflict among the different communities in this country and not in the intensification and perpetuation.

In the recent past there had been omissions and commissions from different communities which had hurt us. The major communities of this country are the Hindus and the Muslims. The Hindus and the Muslims are the two hands of a body. If one part is damaged, that person will be crippled and also handicapped which cannot be allowed. Therefore, every Indian, at this momentous period, should take a pledge that he will never do anything which will harm the very brotherhood, fraternity that we have been maintaining as Indians in this country. At the very same time we also should make all efforts at all levels for better understanding, goodwill, toleration, and mutual cooperation rather than surfacing all the feelings of antagonism, fanaticism and confrontation.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please conclude now.

SHRI E. AHAMED: Sir, you give me one minute.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: You have taken 18 minutes.

SHRI E. AHAMED: Sir, I will take one minute.

I would like to give you the reasons for communal amity in this country. In our country, especially in the Northern India, people are going to cut the throats of each other in the name of *Mandir* and *Masjid*. I want to tell what happened in my State, Kerala. I would like to read a portion of the report which appeared in *The Week* magazine. It said:

> "Two recent happenings proved the brilliant tradition of communal amity in Mankada."

Sir, Mankada is in my district, Mallapuram. It further said:

> "While Vasudevan Nampoothiri, a Brahmin, donated a piece of his land for the extension of a mosque, a Muslim woman, Mariyumma Hajiyyumma, parted with her property so that an old temple could be renovated. The existing masjid was too small to hold all the local devotees and many had started going to a distant one."

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Can I thank you now?

SHRI E. AHAMED: Sir, it is such an important thing, you please allow me. It further said:

> "When the renovation Committee of Karkidam Bilal Juma Masjid approached Moothedath Vasudevan Nampoothiri for three cents of his land adjoining the masjid he readily agreed to their request. The Committee was willing to give the going rate for the land but Nampoothiri would not even listen to such talk. Nampoothiri did not have the slightest hesitation."

I want to tell what happened at the very same time. A lady, Mariyumma Hajiyyumma has given the family property for a temple.

Sir, you just give me one minute. It further said:

"When the time came for the Muslims to reciprocate this kindness, they did not disappoint. For long, it was known to the villagers that there was an old temple covered by bushes and shrubs in Thayyil family's property. People would not go anywhere near the place for fear of invoking the wrath of the gods. In fact, Mariyyumma's husband Abdu Rahiman Haji had told her and their five children to keep a safe distance."

[Translation]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: You were saying that no member should be given more than 10 minutes.

[English]

SHRI E. AHAMED: Therefore, a Muslim woman has given the property from her land for the temple. A Hindu has given the land for a Muslim mosque.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please sit down now.

SHRI E. AHAMED: Sir, give me one second.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: You have taken 21 minutes.

SHRI E. AHAMED: Sir, you give me one more minute. I beseech you.

Therefore, this communal harmony should be maintained. This unity and integrity of India should be achieved through communal harmony, communal amity.

[Translation]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please conclude now.

[English]

SHRI E. AHAMED: That is what Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had said. He said that the development in this country will be achieved by this. Therefore, we have to march forward as Indians and Indian first Indian second and Indian last.

SHRI SIBU SOREN

[Translation]

SHRI SIBU SOREN (Dumka): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I rise to participate in the debate being held in this four days' special session. This session has been called on the occasion of completion of fifty years of Independence. We are discussing here the shortcomings we noticed during the last fifty years. Some hon. members have just complained that instead of putting forth the views straightway, we indulge in tawdriness. As a result, other Members do not get opportunity to speak. We do talk of bringing about improvement therein and in this way, we ruled the country not for five-ten years but for fifty years. No one can claim that he or she has done something fruitful in his or her constituency. But those people who have ruled the country for over fifty years, are realising the shortcomings more. They complain that this thing or that thing has not been done. When they are speaking for hours together, how other people would speak? When they know this much, they should do something.

I am a tribal from Jharkhand region and our region has plenty of minerals. We have electricity poles erected there as well as dams. We have coal, iron, gold, silver, uranimum and mica in abundance. Recently, methyl gas has been found in Bokaro district. This region stands third in the world and first in Asia as far as Methyl is concerned. We don't have any shortage of funds but we are worst than beggars. This Government, which has run the country all these days, have formulated several policies. The Government have the policy to ruin the villages but they don't have any policy for their rehabilitation/settlement. The Government do not have any policy even for providing employment or land to the affected persons after ruining the villages. The villagers are forcibly thrown out of their land by paying them a meagre sum and by exerting police pressure on them. In our region too, coal is being extracted for centuries in Jharia. In an accident recently, a girl got trapped inside the coal mine and died. Such accidents have occurred earlier too and are still occurring frequently. No one knows since when the fire has been breaking out in the mines. There is so much of wealth in this region. The American people had asked to

allow them to extract coal from this region and they were ready to pay in return, but I don' know why the Government and the Ministry of Power didn't consider it. In such a situation, several thousand people can die any moment.

These are very important factors as far as our region is concerned. Herbs and shrubs and flora are available in plenty in the forests but the Government have not taken any decision regarding the local people's share in the forest wealth. Our forest has been ruined and we have become poor. These multimillionaires have become more wealthy. Baidyanath and Dabur were first companies to exploit the medicinal herbs and shrubs found in the forest. It is unfortunate that we have such legislations which prevent us from getting the benefit of these forests, though the forest wealth belongs to us. I would like to say that we are from a separate State. Here, sometimes we hear about decentralisation of power. Though matters related to big States such as Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh have been raised in this House, but no one has raised the matters concerning small States because everyone wants to remain Chief Minister and Prime Minister. But, the situation is quite opposite here. The Government has been formed with the help of many parties. The Prime Minister would also be elected from among the coalition partners. This tradition would go far long. Therefore, we can make alround development only after creation of small States. But the Union Government always stalls this move. Though the Prime Minister makes announcement from the rempart of the Red Fort that Uttarakhand State would be created, yet, in practise no consideration is paid towards creation of that State. Today, similar is the situation of Bihar where there is a demand for creation of a Jharkhand State. A Resolution has been passed and sent to the Union Government. But it is not being considered. The Central Government officers are not moving the files for further action. The responsibility lies with us to undertake such works in the country. No foreigner would help us in this endeavour. Therefore, we are worried as to what would happen.

So far as Public Sector is concerned, Bokaro Plant, HEC and Sindri Plant are running into losses to the tune of thousands of crores of rupees. Coal is being extracted from our land, even then we are not getting any benefit. Power is generated from this coal, even then there is no benefit. This situation prevails at all places. Therefore, when we have to run the States, we will have to contemplate on decentralisation but no one wants to speak on this issue. I don't know what the problems is. In a family of five brothers someday or the other, a time comes when they have to live separately to provide better education to their children. No question of partition in the country arises here. There is no foreign hand involved in it. Earlier, when any incident used to take place, we used to say that there was a foreign hand in it but in real sense, we are responsible for the situation prevailing in the country. Now, we have to think as to what would happen to the country? Our thinking is wrong. We are leading the people towards destruction. We know that we have only to make speeches here and nothing would happen. For the last fifty years, we have been delivering nothing but speeches. Therefore, we should do something in real sense. People are not fools. Now they have awakened. Here, we talk about corruption and the measures to check it. It is good that the Prime Minister has formed a cell. We should discuss as to what the corruption is. Everyone talks about corruption but no one has any idea about it. But, we have been raising a huc and cry over corruption.

Sir, we have discussed a lot about unemployment too. We have a vast barren land in our country. Our youth stand in queue for employment. Broadly speaking, this has become a business because no one wants to work hard. While speaking about Punjab and Haryana, we know that these States grow grains for almost the entire country. If we work hard, we can earn anything. Secondly, we are facing water problem. Water can be supplied through various schemes. But it was said in a meeting that the scheme would not be successful and a sum of Rs. 5-10 crores has already been spent on this scheme. Many handpumps have been installed in villages but they are without handles. All the handpumps are functioning without handles. I don't know what sort of scheme is this. The World Bank is eager to extend help for the development of Tribals, Harijans and poor people. The World Bank is extending assistance for projects in Bihar. An 18 feet road is being constructed in the forest in our region I was surprised to find that it was being constructed with the assistance of the World Bank and the aid was being sent from Delhi. I have no knowledge of it ...(*Interruptions*) I asked the officers why this sort of things were happening. If something is being done in my region, then it should be according to the need and it should be brought into my notice. This work is being done for the tribals with the assistance from World Bank. It should have been done according to the needs of the tribals but the officers are doing it in their own way.

Mr. Deputy Speaker Sir, the entire country is agitated over the issue. I don't think these speeches would serve any purpose. Therefore, it is necessary that we do something concrete and fruitful. Today, nobody in our villages is aware of the meaning of Independence. When the villagers are advised to go to court, they say that court is meant only for rich people and not for poor villagers. We go on crying over 95 per cent versus 5 per cent. Unless education is made compulsory for all, nothing positive can be achieved. Harijan

poor people have not been allowed to receive education. Therefore, let us think as to what kind of education system we should have. Since the Supreme Court has observed that children upto the age of 12 to 14 years should be provided free education. We must provide it, otherwise there would be no equality in our society... *(Interruptions)* We will remain at the same place as earlier. So far, we have been looted and it has caused great resentment among our people. There are terrorists in our area and even bomb explosions have claimed many lives. About 10 to 20 persons are being killed daily.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I would like to urge upon the Government to bring in an uniform legislation for education in the entire country. These days, private schools are mushrooming. But there are people who cannot afford to send their children to such schools. It is, therefore, necessary to introduce a uniform system of education in the whole country. The Government should also lay stress on technical education which should be job oriented. Attention should also be paid towards animal husbandary. With these words, I conclude.

DR. ARVIND SHARMA

DR. ARVIND SHARMA (Sonepat): Hon'ble Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, first of all, I would like to pay my homage to our great martyrs as because of their sacrifice, we are here today. Today the foremost thing is to instil and inculcate the feeling of nationalism and patriotism in our new generation so that they could rise above the feeling of caste, creed, religion and nepotism etc. This should receive our serious attention.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, what we need today is to let our young generation know as to how we achieved our independence and what sacrifices we have made. How the great martyr Bhagat Singh preferred to be hanged. I, through you, would like to let the House know that when Bhagat Singh was sentenced to death by the Court, one day his mother, who was misled by Britishers, asked Bhagat Singh to tender an apology to Britishers so that his death sentence could be reduced to life imprisonment. But the martyr, Bhagat Singh told his mother that if she spoke like that he would not call her mother, as his real mother was 'Mother India'. We should tell these things to our young generation.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, today the issues of corruption, criminalisation of politics, and social justice need our special attention. The poor who had been denied their rights for the last 50 years must get their right. The issue of providing basic needs like bread, clothing and shelter to these people should be given top priority. Today the need is to evolve measures to control the population explosion and to ensure as to how to provide justified and adequate support prices for their crops and also to provide facilities of Panchayati Raj, drinking water, irrigation and education. Today, we are required to deliberate on these issues so as to maintain law and order in our society, ensure all-round development of women and to boost the morale of our soldiers who gave us independence and who are still guarding our borders. We must remove the prevailing corruption from our society and check the criminalisation of politics. We should endeavour to restore the dignity of this House, which has declined over the years. I can say without any hesitation that politicians are not held in high esteem by the people today. Their dignity is required to be restored. But the question is as to who is going to initiate the crusade against the corruption.

There are four pillars of democracy *i.e.* Judiciary, Executive, Legislative and Press. I want to submit that in the eyes of people, our politicians are neck deep in corruption and we too are discussing it in the House. This has reduced the dignity of the House and our politicians as well. Today, common men believe firmly that they would get bread, clothing and shelter only when our politicians have fed themselves sumptuously. This is the opinion of common men today. Therefore, let us think over it and devise measures as to how to remove this misconception from the mind of the people.

Our Prime Minister has set up an Anti-Corruption Cell to fight the corruption. I want to say that this is a very good beginning. But the question is, who is going to take initiative in this regard? Though it should have been initiated from that side and they should have submitted the statement of Accounts of their income and assets to the Prime Minister's cell. However, I take the initiative and within a week; I will be submitting the details of my entire property and property of my relatives to the Prime Minister's Office and Speaker's Office also. At the same time, I will be tendering my resignation in advance also because in case any fact is found to be false, my resignation should be accepted. I request you to co-operate with me. We have to restore the declining dignity of this House at any cost.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, casteism still exists in our society. Even today Harijans and Balmiki people are not allowed to visit a temple. Our people are very nice at heart. But unless our leaders give up casteism, it cannot be removed from the minds of the people. It will still remain in our society. Many Hon'ble Members have said that if we did not have caste feelings in our heart, we would not find it anywhere in the world, but if it remained in our minds and hearts, we would find it everywhere. Therefore, we the political leaders of this country, have to remove the caste feeling from our minds and hearts, for which we are required to cleanse our heart and soul.

Today the issue of providing reservation to the persons belonging to SC/ST and OBC is raised very often. If there are ten or fifteen members in a family, all of them are employed. On the other hand, a cobbler's family adopts the same, profession. In the same way, families of carpenters and blacksmiths continue their professions. The need of the hour is to provide job to the members of those families in which none is in service. My suggestion is that at least one member of each poor family should be provided job. Reservation policy should be reviewed. Preference should be given to those families in which none is in service.

India got independence in 1947. The population which is more than the population at that time is living below the poverty line today. The people who make legislation have no participation in power. That is why they do not know about the poor. Only those persons can understand the problems of the poor who are always worried about them and also have earnest desire to serve them. Fifty years back, we used to talk about food, clothing and shelter and even today we talk about that. The Central Government provide funds to the State Governments. We have formulated Indira Awas Yojna and some other schemes. But where the money is spent and in which manner it is utilized? It is not monitored. A monitoring system should be evolved so that proper utilization of funds can be ensured.

There was a mention of Panchayati Raj during the discussion. The 73rd and 74th amendments were made in the Constitution. Four years have gone but nothing concrete has been done in this regard. It was the dream of Baba Sahib Bhim Rao Ambedkar, Mahatama Gandhi, Jawahar Lal Nehru and Rajiv Gandhi that in any manner there should be delegation of power at lower level but no concern has been expressed in this regard. Meeting of Inter-State Council was held at the instance of the Prime Minister. In the meeting it was observed that more power should be given to States, Panchayats and Zila Parishads. A Chief Minister objected that States could give rights to the panchayats as they liked. If the money is given directly to the panchayats, they would be able to utilise that money for their streets, chaupals, education, health and drinking water in their own way. There is tremendous need to implement Panchayati Raj. My request is that attention should be given to it and it should be properly implemented.

Hon'ble Shri Sharad Yadav has made a mention about water. If we want to make India strong, we would have to ensure progress of our farmers and labourers who are the backbone of our country. The poor and the agricultural labourers do not have food, cloth and shelter. If the distribution of water is done properly, then the problem of water of many States can be solved.

The State of Haryana has small problems. Nobody is concerned about S.Y.L. Canal. If it is completed, Haryana, Punjab and Rajasthan will be benefited a lot. I request the Government to pay attention towards the completion of this work.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, you allowed me to speak. I am highly thankful to you for providing me this opportunity.

KUMARI UMA BHARATI

KUMARI UMA BHARATI (Khajuraho): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, four days long debate being held in the Parliament can be fruitful. A decision has already been taken that on the last day after arriving at certain conclusions we would adopt a Resolution. If this decision is actually translated into action tomorrow and if we can arrive at a conclusion and thereafter adopt a resolution regarding our conduct inside and outside the Parliament and our objectives then the debate of four days will be fruitful.

Hon'ble Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, a number of points have been raised here but our Party has decided that the speakers of the Party will only dwell at length on the subjects allotted to them.

Sir, through you, I would urge upon the entire House that our country has a huge resource which has not been able to contribute fully in the development of the country.

That resource is the women of this country. Discussion is being held on reservation for women. In 1995, first of all, Advani ji has passed a resolution in the national convention of the party in Baroda that there should be reservation for women in politics and the legislature. Consequently, this is sue has been raised in the House time and again. Why has the issue to provide reservation to the women come up? I admit that if there had been a planned effort to educate the women in our country we would have educated them and they would have definitely utilized their talent in the progress of the country. We could not do that. That is why the need to provide reservation was felt. This aspect is being ignored. Since this House is discussing a number of important points these days, I would like to appeal to the House that if the country has to develop, then we should think about providing reservation and education to women.

Even now we have to see that the women who have come forward, do not lag behind in any field. Women who join IAS or IPS or professions as doctor, engineer and lawyer do not lag behind. School results also reveal the fact that girls do not lag behind the boys. Even then the women are not provided ample opportunities to show their inherent talents. Therefore, the people who oppose the proposed reservation for women and seek some alternative provision should make an introspection and tell us as to what is the wayout other than this. There is no way out except the reservation for dalits and women. There are people who say that principle of equal opportunities should be enforced here in this country. I would like to make two points in this regard.

My first point is that the present reservation policy should be reviewed and reasons for need of reservation facility should be studied. We should know as to how many people have been benefited by reservation policy since independence. I am saying this because criteria and implementation system of reservation policy for SC/ST or OBC and women will be the same. We had taken a decision that reservation should be given to persons who were educationally, socially and economically backward. Earlier, dalits were given reservation and later, OBC were given reservation on the recommendations of Mandal Commission and now on the same grounds women are proposed to be given reservation because they are also backward from educational, economic and social point of view. Women are subjected to discrimination from their birth and now there are reports of foeticide. It means that not only in their lives but even before their birth, women are discriminated. Unfortunately, well educated people living in urban areas are doing so, whereas rural people still adore girls as sacred. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, in several States of our country, discrimination is made against women even in performing ceremonies after last rites. In case of man, this ceremony marking the ultimate liberation of a human soul from family bounds is performed on 13th day after death, whereas in case of women this ceremony is performed on 12th day itself. On the other hand, in Upnishadas we have a story of erudition of a woman named Gargi. She was selected by the court of King Janak to decide as to who was actually brahmagyani. All the learned persons of the world had gathered in King Janak's court to decide as to who was brahmagyani, then they all discussed as to who would decide it and later on, Gargi was selected to hold a debate as to who had supreme knowledge in this regard. She declared Vagyavalkya as Brahmagyani who later on was accepted as brahmagyani by all the Pundits on the earth. The sagacity of Gargi and skillful war manoeunring of Kaikeyi have become things of stories now a days. Kaikeyi had accompanied King Dashrath in a war and during the war, the axle of the wheel of King Dashrath's Chariot broke and she put her finger there. This reveals her skillful war manoeunring. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I would like to say that women education especially upto matriculation should be made compulsory in the country. We should provide reservation for women in legislature. I would like to say that the whole Bill has been withheld in the name of reservation for OBCs but an amendment to this effect could be made. For the past 50 years, women have not got reservation and now its need has been realized. It should be done, otherwise after another 50 years we shall again realize that mistake. Justice delayed is justice denied and even now so many ifs and buts are raised against this Bill. I would like to make a submission and request all the MPs present in this House to show generosity and let this Bill be passed by a majority during the winter session of Parliament, if Gujarat Government is not dismissed untimely. All the political parties should issue whip to their Members for their presence in the House and after including the clause of OBC, this Bill should be passed in next session. I would like to make a submission that women education should be made compulsory. We should think over the reservation policy again and study the reasons for its need. I would also like to cite an example of hon. Bala Saheb Devras because Sangh is considered anti-dalit and anti-poor and the protector of upper castes only. I would like to remind you that in 1983, a meeting of Sangh was held at Nagpur where Balasaheb Devras had persuaded all to pass a resolution

19.00 hrs.

In this resolution, he had said that reservation for dalits and reservation on the basis of caste was essential because they lived in poor condition, in jhuggi-jhopris where pigs roamed around. Nobody think about their problems. Rebuilding a Hindu Nation is not possible unless their

upliftment is taken care of. The concept of Hindu Nation cannot be realized without their upliftment.

I would like to quote Balasaheb Devras and remind you what he had said while supporting reservation on the basis of caste. He had said that people demanding reservation on the basis of caste would be dubbed as casteist. The people who are demanding reservation on economic basis are ignoring the painful past of this nation and they don't know that million of people had been deprived of human rights for thousands of years only due to caste considerations. That is why he had said that one cannot deny reservation on the basis of caste but some economic limit should also be imposed. When the issue of Mandal Commission came up before the Supreme Court, it also stressed the need for eliminating the creamy layer. Shri Srikanta Jena is present here. Does he need any reservation? Does Sharad Yadav or Shri Ram Vilas Paswan require the benefit of reservation? I don't have any family of my own but I also would not like my nephews to avail the reservation facility. I want my family members to be brought under the cramy layer and they should not be provided the reservation facility. I also want that the reservation policy should be reconsidered because even new, the development of the country, the prosperity of the nation, economy of the nation has remained confined to only 15 per cent people and 85 per cent people have been deprived of all this and these 85 percent people include dalits, S.C.s, S.Ts., women and OBCs ...(*Interruptions*) I am coming to that point also. Ever since the S.Cs., S.Ts. and O.B.Cs. have been provided the reservation facility, after the implementation of recommendations of Mandal Commission, in legislatures, Government jobs and other undertakings, a new 15 per cent category has emerged within the dalit community and 85 per cent dalits have been deprived of this facility. Only 15 percent people are enjoying all the facilities. I apprehend that the same thing will be repeated in the case of reservation for women. Only 15 percent women will be benefited and as for the rest of 85 percent women, Nirala ji has mentioned their plight in his poem:

"Maine dekha usko Allahabad Ke path par,
Wah todti thi patthar"

He said, I saw a woman crushing stones on a roadside at Allahabad. There should be someone in this Parliament who is sensitive to the pain of such women. Those people who have not undergone such experiences themselves, whose families have not suffered such experiences, whose painful experiences cannot be recounted here, whose cases cannot be advocated forcefully and those people who question the need for providing reservation for women and rather say that reservation should be made within the parties, I would like to ask them as to why the issue of giving equal right to women in the parental property has not been considered so far. When I was 11 months old, my father had passed away. My mother brought me and my brothers up. I do not wish to add my father's name to my name. I wish to accord due respect to my mother and also wish to add my mother's name to my name. I wish to mention my mother's name to my name. I wish to mention my mother's name in the forms which I am given to fill in. Why am I not given permission by the Parliament to add my mother's name. It is because the problems concerning women have not been viewed from women's point of view. The problems concerning women can be viewed from women's angle only when women have due representation in Parliament.

Hence I would like to say that the principle of equal opportunity is not applied in heterogeneous society. Rather the principle of special opportunity has to be adopted in an heterogeneous society in order to lead it towards homogeniety. This applies to S.Cs., S.Ts., O.B.Cs. and women. The principle of equal opportunities can never be implemented in heterogeneous society.

Hon'ble Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, there lives a man in my village, named Kalla. He belongs to a tribal family. There is another man named Bal Kishan Tiwan living in my village. I cannot forget what I have seen in my childhood. Kalla used to work in the fields whole day and Bal Kishen Tiwari used to attend school. Kalla used to attend the school as and when he got the time. For the rest of the time, he used to work in fields. Kalla used to rise at 4 o'clock in the morning and would help his mother in grinding corn on the grinding stone. When the examinations were about to be held, Kalla did not get any time during the day to prepare for the same. So he used to study in the night. It was essential to procure kerosene in order to light lamp in the night and Kalla did not have sufficient money to purchase kerosene. Bal Kishan Tiwari had a lamp. The incident I am recounting here occurred 25-30 years ago. Kalla used to go to Bal Kishan Tiwari's house in order to study. As Tiwari studied in the day time he wanted to put off the lamp at night. However, as Kalla used to be busy working in the fields during the day time, he wanted that the lamp should be left lit for some more time so that he could study. Hence, he used to request Bal Kishan Tiwari to keep the lamp lit for some more time.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, then they took the examination together. Kalla secured 40 percent marks, whereas Bal Kishan Tiwari got 80 percent marks. Now either we should give equal weightage to the 40 percent marks secured by Kalla or 80 percent marks secured by Tiwari or we should provide similar facilities to both Kalla and Bal Kishan Tiwari. The children of the President should attend the same school which is attended by the children of the peon of the President. There should be uniformity in education system. Here, on one hand, we have public schools and the students studying in these schools travel by car, 'Ayah' feeds them fresh juice as soon as the they come out after attending the school and on the other hand, we have schools which have leaking roofs, where children have broken slates and have no text books. Their fathers come home drunk and beat up their mothers. The Mother cries the whole night and the child hears her cry. In the morning, the child again goes to school. Under these circumstances, how can such a child complete with those studying in Delhi Public School? We should have a uniform facility for system of education and so long as this is not done, the principle of special opportunity in place of equal opportunity which is necessary to lead this fragmented and divided society towards unity will remain in force in the country. However, reservation policy should definitely be discussed. When I came here, I also thought that Muslim women should be given reservation. I would also like to add that we do not doubt the patriotism or Muslims. Some hon,ble Members have repeatedly pointed fingers towards this side while delivering their speeches. As I respect the convention of the House, I am not mentioning their names. Some leaders have delivered speeches in this House and wanted to know as to why did we doubt the patriotic feelings of Muslims. I would like to tell them that we do not have any such doubts. Muslims are also patriotic. I can cite the example of Abdul Hameed. Hindu and Muslims joined hands during 1857 revolt and the Britishers could not divide us despite their best efforts. The Britishers were successful in winning over leaders of this country. In the 1857 revolt, all the leaders—whether it was Bahadurshah Zafar, Tatya Tope, Nana Saheb Peshwa or Rani Laxmibai—were united and there were no differences. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, we do remember Ashtaqulla Khan and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. However, I also remember that as a result of the appeasement and vote-grabbing policy of some leaders of our country, a moderate leader like Mohammad Ali Jinnah became an extremist and ultimately, he was instrumental in the partition of India. There are still some persons in India who would like to create another Mohammad Ali Jinnah. When such things are discussed here, we always say that we do not doubt the patriotism of Muslims. Therefore, I would like to make it clear to all Muslim brothers present in the House that we do not doubt their patriotism and contribution in the nation building.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, here are some people in the country who have doubts in this regard. When Advani ji's Rath Yatra entered West Bengal on the occasion of Golden Jubilee, a Minister of Communist Party in the West Bengal Government stated that if Advani's Rath Yatra entered Bengal that would create communal tension. I would not have mentioned the name of the party if this news had not been published in the newspaper. When I went there, I asked them whether Muslims did not like the freedom of the country and therefore, they did not want to celebrate the Golden Jubilee of Independence. Sir, the national song 'Vande Mataram' was sung by A.R. Rahman in a function in Delhi and it indicated that Muslims would have no objection in uttering 'Vande Mataram'. Likewise, they would also have no objection if I say that Lord Ram was the forefather of this country.

I would like to recite two lines of a Ghazal composed by Iqbal:

"Meere Arab ko aai thandi hawa jahan se,
Mera watan wahi hai, mera watan wahi hai"

It means that Meere Arab i.e. Hazrat Mohammad used to receive soothing breeze of love and peace from India. Therefore, BJP has no doubt over the patriotism of Muslims. People of other parties doubt their loyality to nation. That is why, they ask to stop Advani's Rathyatra, fearing communal tension. They ask the Government to stop Joshi's 'Ekta Yatra' to avert communal tension. Why? Were Indian Muslims not against Kashmiri terrorism? Did Indian Muslim not want to celebrate Golden Jubilee of India's Independence? We do not doubt the patriotism of Muslims.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, a point regarding providing reservation facility to Muslim women in the name of religion has been raised. We should not forget that our Constitution has a secular character and this fact has been asserted more by our colleagues on the other side. We have stated time and again that secularism meant equal respect for all religions but they have reiterated that secularism was secularism. I would like to state that there is no dissension on secularism but there is dissension on the interpretation of secularism. For you, secularism means secularism, but for us, secularism means equal respect for all religions.

Therefore, I would like to remind you of one thing that when the Constitution of a country has secular character and some people demand reservation facility on the basis of religion, it means they want to make this country based on religion. I know that my utterances may cause flutter. Therefore, I would like you to listen to me patiently. If these people want to make it a nation based on religion, it is certain that this country will become a Hindu country since Hindus are in majority here. Therefore, those persons who are demanding religion-based reservation are strengthening the theory of a Hindu nation. Thus, they want to implement Hindu nation theory in India in their own way because so long as there is secularism in India, they cannot get reservation on the basis of religion. There are many muslim castes mentioned in Mandal Commission report as backward. So, any party which wants to field a muslim candidate, may do so out of the seats reserved for women of backward castes. A reputed muslim leader had stated here that no party would field a muslim candidate. Why do you doubt their intentions? You should rather doubt our intentions. These are the muslims who have forgotten the name of Babar and Babri mosque. But, some leaders of our country have not stopped mentioning this incident and they take it up whenever they find an opportunity.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the so-called secular people have been completely exposed in the case of Babri mosque. As I am a devotee of God, I see miracle of God in everything. It was the miracle of God that our government was not formed. The person who harp about the Babri mosque formed the government at the centre as well as in U.P. But, the Prime Minister and the Chief Minister forgot this issue after assuming their offices. Why did they not make effort to build the Babri mosque? The main reason behind it is that they have no courage to have a showdown with Hindus. They just want to continue the rift between Hindus and Muslims in the name of Babri mosque. They would try to coin one issue after another which would widen the rift between two communities and thus grab the power at centre. I do not doubt the patriotism of Muslims. I am ready to stage a dharna for the reservation of Muslim women on the condition that muslim brethren bury the differences between men and women in their personal law regarding divorce, marriage and inheritance and accept the fact there there is no difference between men and women in their personal law regarding these matters because women reservation comes under social reformation theory. It cannot be both ways like 'head, I win and tail, you lose.' You will have to sacrifice one of them. If the Government thinks about reformation, it will have to bring about complete reformation. Therefore, I request the Government to reconsider the theory of reservation. Creamy layer among SCs, STs or OBCs should be taken into account.

My second submission is that the Bill for reservation of women should invariably be brought in the ensuing session. My third submission is that the women belonging to other backward classes should invariably be included there. I would like to tell you that if you fail to bring this Bill during the ensuring session, because there is uncertainty after that and most of the people are saying that after that we would have to go to the voters asking for their votes, I would call upon the women of India that these were the people who created obstructions in the way of reservation for women. Therefore, we should first ask them the reasons for not bringing the Bill regarding reservation for women. I would request that in the next session, the Bill providing for reservation for women should be brought and provision of reservation for the women belonging to other backward castes should also be made in it. If the Muslim Members of Parliament agree, and if the disparities in laws pertaining to divorce, marriage and inheritance are abolished and the Pardah system, Burqua system and practice of considering the witness of two women equal to witness by one man is also abolished, then muslim women should certainly be given the benefit of that reservation.

I would urge upon you that education for women should be made compulsory in this country. We should review our education policy. What are we teaching our children? What sort of education is being given to them? What is being taught to our children? ...*(Interruptions)* I could not understand till today as to why we are teaching two contradictory things in the books of history. If we say that Akbar was great, then Rana Pratap cannot be great and if we say that Rana Pratap was great, then Akbar cannot be great. Both these great men fought against each other and both of them were great. It is beyond my comprehension. We called our aggressors as well as those who trampled upon us, great. It is just like a case in which one goes to the police station for registering complaint and says, 'Darogaji, register my complaint quickly, a great thief came to my house, he insulted me, he looted me greatly, he thrashed me and took away my wealth with greatness. He was a great thief! We call the aggressors great and we also call all those man great who insulted us. This is what we are teaching our children. This is the reason that our Finance Minister does not know the basic facts. He says that India was very poor country thousands of years ago and people did not get food to eat. Sometimes, I think that on the one hand, there was Shri Kamraj of Tamil Nadu who was

uneducated and on the other hand, there is an educated person Shri P. Chidambaram. The people of Tamil Nadu would be ashamed of such people who did not know the past of India, who did not knwon that Ajanta, Ellora, Takshashila, Nalanda and Khajuraho were on the land of this country. Art does not flourish without prosperity. The monuments bear testimony to the fact that this country was very prosperous, there was abundant milk and butter in the country. I would like to tell the Finance Minister that instead of studying in Doon School, Oxford and Harvard, he could have studied the material written by chinese travellers. If there is an inferiority complex that the people of India don't write facts, he can read the books written by the foreign travellers. Therefore, nationalism, economic self-sufficiency and personality development should be included in education so that people may develop the feeling of nationalism, national pride and economic self-sufficiency. Lord Macauley had said that he would leave behind the Englishmen of black skin. That is why Mahatama Gandhi had said that Britishers did not rule our country as long as they remained here but the British rule actually started after they had left our country because after that, the rule of Anglicism started in this country. Therefore, when I look at the statue of Mahatma Gandhi opposite the Parliament House, I feel as if he is still on hunger strike. We are called anti-Gandhi. It is a different thing that only we people are following Gandhi's principle. But the people who have been asking for votes and playing the game of politics in the name of Gandhi so far, don't bother as to where the Swadeshi, the charkha of Gandhi, khadi and agriculture has gone. Gandhiji had desired that there should be decentralisation of power. But it is actually not there. Would the soul of Mahatma Gandhi not feel pained on seeing the joke being played in the name of Panchayati Raj? There is Panchayati Raj, but there is no budget for Panchayats. Each State complains that there is no budget for Panchayats. License has been given but no one has got the rifle. The lion does not run away on seeing the licence. The lion runs away on seeing the rifle only. If anyone shows the licence of a rifle, the lion will not get frightened by that. The same thing has happened with Panchayti Raj. People have received licences, but rifles have not been received by them. Therefore, if this country is to be developed, Swadeshi should be adopted and there should be a total change in education system. We should reconsider equal participation of villagers, rural people, women, downtrodden Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and other backward castes in the development of the nation. As I have earlier submitted we should find a solution and resolve that we would change ourselves. We must do that. With these words, I thank you very much.

[English]

THE MINISTER OF TOURISM AND MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI SRIKANTA JENA): Sir, since the House is sitting late today, arrangements have been made to serve dinner to hon. Members, Press and officers of Lok Sabha Secretariat. Dinner would be served to the hon. Members and Press in Room No. 70 and to the staff in Room No. 73 from 8.15 p.m. onwards.

SHRIMATI SANDHYA BAURI

[Translation]

*SHRIMATI SANDHYA BAURI (Vishnu Pur): Hon'ble Deputy Speaker Sir, thank you very much for giving me an opportunity to participate in the discussion held in the Special Session of Parliament for completion of our 50 years of independence. At the outset, I express my deep gratitude and respect for the brave patriots who sacrificed their lives to attain independence. After the British rule of almost two centuries was over, we had great expectations and inspiration in our minds. But while celebrating the Golden Jubilee year of our independence there must be soul searching and introspection. It is a matter of regret and utter sorrow that there is a huge gap between our expectation and attainment. When we look around and face hard reality we feel utterly disappointed. This is sad but bitter truth. The huge gap between our expectation and achievement is truely reflected in the miserable condition of the common people. On the one hand, there is hunger, poverty, unemployment, large number of homeless, shelterless people and on the other hand, there is immense greed, unlimited accumulation of wealth, corruption, economic offence and criminalisation of politics. Today we have 15 crores of consumer and 38% of people are below poverty line. What kind of independence the country has got? Innumerable brave patriots sacrificed their lives to attain freedom. But it is a matter of regret that after 50 years of independence, even the minimum basic requirements like food, clothing and shelter, education or some schemes for proper development of health have not been provided to the people.

*Translation of the speech originally delivered in Bengali.

19.23 hrs.

[SHRI P.C. CHACKO *in the Chair*]

The party which ruled the country and was at the helm of affairs for more than 40 years, have failed to discharge their responsibility to provide these basic requirements to the people. When we look around and find utter hunger, poverty among the people we feel disappointed. After all is this the independence for which so many people have laid down their lives? Starting from 1951 our 1st Five Year Plan was followed by many more Five Year Plans in the ensuing years.

But due to lack of farsightedness and sense of ground reality the leaders failed. No well-integrated programme was initiated resulting in the failure of leaders to provide minimum needs to the people.

The staggering problem of population has been cited as the main reason for the non-performance and failures on the part of the political leaders. The explosive form of population has remained the serious problem in all the undeveloped countries. We observed 11th July this year as the Population Day in many parts of the country. The population in India in 1951 was 360 million or 36 crores. It was 846.3 million in 1991. According to United Nations Population Fund Data, the present number is 960.2 million and it became 97 crores in 1997. That means that it has been increased by 610 million. But it was not possible to produce required quantity of foodgrains for this increased population. Although the statistics say that the production of foodgrains has been increased four times. But as far as requirement is concerned, this increase is far from adequate. Not only food, this vast number of people were not given shelter, clothing or education.

This population explosion has taken place in the span of last 40 to 50 years. I am sorry to say there was no integrated family planning programme for population control. Had any well-developed family planning programme been initiated, we could have been successful to solve many crisis and problems. The previous Government who rules for 40 years cannot shirk their responsibility for this short coming.

Our neighbouring democratic country China attained freedom two years after us, i.e., in 1949. Today their population is 1243.7 million being the first in population in the world. But they have been able to make their country self-sufficient. What was the magic wand behind their success? This was possible because of the farsightedness and sense of ground reality on the part of their leaders and also their patriotism and deep concern for the poor. Adequate attention was paid to agriculture and industrial development after independence. At the same time topmost priority was given to education, health and population control. If today we do not pay adequate priority to population control in India then the population will be 100 crores by 2000 and it is also presumed that India will exceed China in population in the near future. We will be at the top of the world at least in population.

There are many reasons like social, economic and religious, for the increase in population in India. The literacy rate in India is 50%. The high rate of illiteracy and ignorance are one of the reasons for the increase in population. The literacy rate in Kerala is the highest. Then next comes Tamil Nadu. Whereas the total fertility rate was 3.5 in India in 1993 it is 1.7 in Kerala and 2.1 in Tamil Nadu. Then again Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh are lagging behind as far as literacy is concerned. But they have accounted for 42% of the net increase of the country's population. So it is apparent that illiteracy as well as poverty are both responsible for the rise in population. Poor parents resort to repeated childbirth as an insurance against losing children due to high child mortality. Moreover economically weaker sections depend on their small children also to enhance their income. Thus there is the tendency to resort to more birth in the family so as to have more earning members causing undesirable social practices such as child labour. These children of lesser god do not have childhood. They start earning for the family very early. Most of them work as bonded labour or are employed by various companies and factories with very low payment. It is shameful that these small children devote their lives in earning money for their family when they are supposed to play and study. This is happening because we have failed to deliver the goods to the poor. We have not made them realise the serious consequences of rise in population. They are not made to realise the good effect of family planning. They have not been provided the basic amenities of life. They have been deprived of education and health. The net result is the staggering rise in population even after 50 years of independence.

Discrimination against women has been prevailing in our society since long. If we go by the balance sheet of our performance we find another disturbing picture. The sex-ratio in our population is 927 females per 1000 males. The figure was 934 per 1000 in 1981. The decline in sex ratio

is indeed a danger signal and behind this there is a social societal picture. We know how the unconscionable practice of pre-metal sex determination-amniocentesis has been prevailing in our social system. As per our social structure the son is supposed to inherit property and look after the old parents. So female foeticide and infanticide has taken an alarming proportion in India In Mumbai itself 40000 female foeticide has been committed. In this special session of Parliament when we are celebrating 50 years of independence I demand a positive-well developed scheme to be evolved so as to curb the unethical practice of female foeticide. For some people religion also plays an important role in not following family planning programme. Moreover some of them resort to continuous child birth until and unless they have a son. Thus this attitude is also responsible for the phenomenal rise in population.

Now I would like to give suggestions to tackle the staggering problem of population. Priority must be given to education especially education for women must be emphasised. If they are educated they become conscious and follow family planning programme. The rate of child and materal mortality in our country is 74 in thousand and 570 in each lakh respectively. This problem can be tackled by initiating poverty alleviated programmes, maternal health which is the main reason for infant survival. So education, consciousness about hygiene and complete protection are directly responsible to curb rise in population. I must say that integrated management of these factors is the key to tackle our population problem.

Then the empowerment of women in policy making decision must be initiated. Our society has never allowed women to have any say in policy making decision since old ages. Now we find some change in social attitude with regard to empowerment of women. We have brought the bill for 33% reservation for women in Lok Sabha and Assemblies. But unfortunately the bill could not have a smooth sailing in this session also. We have one third reservation for women in our Panchayat system also. These women are working successfully in different blocks. So I urge upon the Government to pass the bill providing 33% reservation for women in Lok Sabha and Assemblies in the next session. Let the women share power alongwith their male counterparts. Then only some justice can be done for the age long discrimination against women.

19.34 hrs.

[Shri Basu Deb Acharia *in the Chair*]

I thank you again to give me an opportunity to participate in the Special Session of Parliament commemorating 50 years of our independence.

SHRIMATI MEIRA KUMAR

SHRIMATI MEIRA KUMAR (Karol Bagh-Delhi): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am thankful to the hon. Speaker for convening this Special Session in the golden jubilee year of our independence. Otherwise, in today' s hectic life, it would have been difficult for us to sit together and express our views. Hon. Speaker has convened this four-days Special Session so that we could look back at our achievements and failures. By rising above the party lines, we all should sit together and evolve a new agenda, a new determination and march forward in the next 50 years with a new vision, because the 21st century is ready to welcome us with open arms.

Sir, Members belonging to various parties are present here. Although we have deep differences, we also have a close relationship. Nothing can surpass this close relationship of Cherishing a common dream. We all nurture a dream of making India a powerful nation in the next 50 years. How we can take India at the top? How we can take India to the zenith of glory. I bow in the memory of all those freedom fighters who fought the Britishers between 1857 and 1947.

"Mujhe Tor Lena Van Mali.
Us path Par Tum Dena Phenk,
Matribhoomi Par shees Chadhane,
Jis Path Jayen Veer Anek."

There is also a wrong notion that most of the participants in the freedom struggle belonged to the upper class It is not correct. I take pride in the fact that Harijans and Adivasis, who were humiliated for thousands of years and were subjected to inhuman atrocities, also jumped in the freedom struggle in groups, when the need arose.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, the truth is that it was because of the maltreatment meted out to the downtrodden that the country was enslaved. However, the country was freed by the valour of these downtrodden. I am saying this because

a very large section of the society was ostrocised in the name of caste. A feeling had entered in their minds that:

"Kou Nrup Hoi Humein Ka Hani,
Dasi Chhor Na Houb Rani."

When this feeling grips the minds of a large section of the society, in the course of time, the nation becomes enslaved. But, this very section of the society which was ostracised, had willingly participated in the freedom struggle. I feel pained when the role of Harijans and Adivasis is ignored while mentioning the freedom fighters. Neither their names have been mentioned in history, nor their names have been mentioned in the official documents. So much so, they do not find a place in the souvenir distributed by the Government to mark the 50th year of Independence. On the contrary, those who had conspired with the British and were in the council of the Viceroy from 1942 to 1946, are mentioned in it.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I condemn the Government for this lapse and seek your assurance that this mistake would be rectified.

Out of these 50 years, the Congress ruled for 46 years. Therefore, achievements and failures will be recorded in the Congress' account. Yesterday, Shri Chandrashekhar said that India and all other countries which became independent after India, opted for democracy. But, by and by, democracy failed in all these countries except India. The success of democracy depends upon the people. Were the people and the Government of those nations, where democracy was throttled weak? But we have kept democracy alive in India. This was a very challenging task, because in our country, there are several religions, castes, sub-castes, languages, regions as well as different life styles, customs and several other factors that highlight our diversity. We maintained unity in diversity. We exercised restraint because any slogan could have hurt the sentiments of other sections, of the people. It was a difficult task. Mahatma Gandhi became a martyr on the altar of democracy and secularism. But, we kept democracy alive. Now you can say and several hon. Members have already mentioned and I, myself, also admit that our democratic system has not become strong to the desired extent. I would like to ask as to how it can be strengthened? Democracy and casteism cannot go side by side, we have to choose one of them. I do not know as to when in past casteism divided our society.

Some Members have stated that dalits are committing atrocities on others. Of course poor do not have clothes, medicine and shelter but I would like to say that poverty affects us physically whereas casteism hurt our soul and mind.

We should have eradicated casteism during the past 50 years. But it could not be done. Today situation has deteriorated to such an extent that our democratic system is affected by casteism. We proclaim to be supporters of democracy but casteism affects our sentiments. This practice of double standards should be stopped in the interest of democracy. Casteism should be removed totally.

This special Session has been convened to express our sentiments. I would like to know as to how casteism can be eradicated? It is a difficult task. It has been said that time changes everything but time could not change caste system. I would like to make a submission that inter-caste marriages should be encouraged. All political parties should pass a resolution that couples, who have an intercaste marriages would be given preference in employment, promotion or distribution of party tickets in elections. We have experience regarding according special rights to them but it cannot be achieved in this manner. Just now Uma Bharatiji was saying that on the basis of improvement in financial condition of a few harijans, the people proclaim that their condition has improved but their actual condition can be seen in villages. The agricultural labourers and the landless farmers still work hard whole day for a little rice and 10 rupees. If they raise demand for wage rise, they may be dealt with bullets.

Ever since I have joined the politics, there has not been a single month in which I have not gone to villages in far flung areas in context of a case of atrocity on harijans. Every morning before opening the newspaper I pray to God that I may not have to read any news item regarding atrocities on harijans. 21st century is approaching. We should be ashamed of incidents of atrocities on harijans. We boast of democracy. We should resolve to provide land to these landless people. So far only eight percent reservation has been done. There is a huge backlog in this regard. The rage against Mandal Commission's recommendations is being pacified by raising slogan for putting an end to reservation completely even for SCs/STs. They have been serving the society for the past thousands of years. They work hard to grow crops, build mansions, produce clothes, shoes and carry night soil on their heads for betterment of this country. They manufacture useful items from iron, wood, clay and metals. They rear cattle. Our country was known as a golden sparrow due to their hard work. Their handicrafts are famous world-wide but they have been denied wealth, education, honour and power.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, at the time of sea-churning a huge pot of dangerous venom Kalkut was also extracted. Lord Shiva consumed it and was called 'Nilkanth'. These people have been facing humiliation for thousand of years and treated an 'untouchable'. Our society is indebted to them.

The present reservation policy had been unable to pay even interest of this debt. We proclaim to be supporter of democracy but if the Government intends to improve the lot, these people they should be given participation in power.

Now a days indecent remarks are being made against Gandhiji. In this context I would like to say that stones used in building tower show disgust towards the foundation stone but they forget that their very existence depends upon it. Something was said about Gandhiji yesterday. I am not defending Gandhiji and there is no need to defend Gandhiji. A great personality like Gandhiji does not require to be defended by Meira Kumar. But I am doing it for my own satisfaction. It was said that Gandhiji had done nothing for the Harijans and the Adivasis. I would like to ask as to who worked for them in 1930 and 1920? During his visits to Delhi, he could easily stay in Raj Bhavan but he used to stay in some Balmiki Basti. On Gandhiji's directions, the congressmen went from village to village for removal of untouchability in the first half of the century. They asked the villagers to send their children to school and get them educated. They gave a clarion call for social justice. It was Gandhiji who sowed the seed of social justice which has not grown into a tree ...(*Interruptions*) If you want, I can sit down.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You may continue to speak.

[English]

SHRIMATI MEIRA KUMAR: I can sit down if you do not give me time.

[Translation]

MR. CHAIRMAN: All right you may continue, but keep in mind the time limit.

SHRIMATI MEIRA KUMAR: Gandhiji sowed the seed of social justice which has now grown into a tree and it has started bearing fruits but there are thorns also. Now these thorns are giving trouble.

These people have started criticising Gandhiji.

When the gold was pledged by the Government, when our foreign exchange reserve was exhausted, then when our economy was in a critical condition, the Congress Government resorted to economic reforms, foreign capital investment, privatisation and liberalisation which proved an elixir for the economy. As a result, our economy become sound. Today there is no need to adopt the stringent measures. There is a need to think that we should invest in the social sector instead of consumer sector and also invest in infrastructure. We should not be afraid and should not compromise in this matter. We talk about China time and again. China spends foreign exchange to meet its needs. We should also spend the foreign exchange to meet our needs. There is no need for us to bow before them.

[English]

SHRI RAM NAIK (Mumbai North): I am on a point of order. I would like to draw your attention to the fact that it was decided that not more than ten minutes would be allowed to every hon. Member ...(*Interruption*)

20.00 hrs.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please take your seat.

...(*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAM NAIK: It is not meant for you ... (*Interruptions*) Let me complete it ...(*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please conclude now.

...(*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Let him complete. His point of order is there.

SHRI RAM NAIK: Let me complete. My point is this ...(*Interruptions*) I am not disturbing you. My only point is that parties have been given time. In this process, what is now happening is that our Members are not getting the chance in the proper and routine way. In the morning, we had discussed with the Speaker about this. We are developing a grievance. I am drawing your attention to one aspect. It was agreed that every Member would be given ten minutes to speak. Now, Sir, it is your discretion. You can use your discretion. We have nothing to say about it. But still sufficient time is there on the BJP's account. We have a list of speakers ...(*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: I know it. You have got a surplus time of five hours and seven minutes.

SHRI RAM NAIK: That is why I am saying this. From that point of view only, I am saying this that you kindly regulate it in such a way that our Members also get the chance to speak ...(*Interruptions*) Shrimati Meira Kumar, I hope you do not take it otherwise. I have nothing to say against you ...(*Interruptions*) We did not disturb you.

[Translation]

MR. CHAIRMAN: Meira Kumar ji, please conclude.

SHRIMATI MEIRA KUMAR: Mr. Chairman, Sir, they do not allow me to speak. You did not interrupt others nor you raised any point of order that time. You are standing in between and interrupting me. Please sit down.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Carry on but take care of the paucity of time.

SHRIMATI MEIRA KUMAR: Mr. Chairman, Sir, Multi National companies are stepping in our country. I have great concern in my mind for child labour. The largest number of child labourers in the world are in India and they are a great attraction for these M.N.Cs. in any developing country. No other labour is cheaper than child labour. We are getting reports that in the developed western countries where child labour had been banned, children of poor and black people are again being engaged in labour. This is not something a party matter. I am talking about the future of our children and child labour. We have to be very careful and very vigilant in this regard and today alongwith other resolutions, we should also resolve firmly in this session that we would ban the practice of child labour from our society.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I want to mention one thing more. I know that there is paucity of time. One symbol of our freedom struggle is spinning wheel (charkha) and khadi. That spinning wheel and khadi had uprooted such an empire out of the country which was the most powerful in the world and where sun never knew to set. But the producers of khadi *i.e.* Weavers are on the average of starvation today as they have got no job to earn their livelihood. They have sold their wheels to the 'Kabadiwalas' and are pulling rickshaws. Let us resolve today on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of our independence that we would provide suitable jobs to these weavers and save them from starvation. We would again glorify the dignity of 'charkha' and khadi. Lastly, I would refer to a point raised by Atal ji. Queen of Britain is visiting India in the next few days. Atal ji made his remarks only in this context that apology should be tendered for emergency but we submit that let us start it from the very beginning. Mahatma Gandhi was assassinated in this country. The concerned people should tender apology for his killing also. He had dreamt of a Ram Rajya in this country. Ram was in his last breath. Why do not they atone for his killing on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of our independence.

In the end, I would say that ours is a Cherished dream of building our country great but it require a lot of sacrifices from us. Our old generation had sacrificed a lot to realise this dream but our new generation has so far made no sacrifices in this regard. It is only in this context our hon'ble speaker has urged people to launch yet another freedom struggle to remove the remaining evils from our society. Let us strive for having a clean society. Let us root out corruption from our society. Only then a person wearing khadi Dhoti-kurta will earn respect from people. Only then we, the politicians, will have a clean image in the eyes of public.

We do not know as to whether we will remain alive till the year 2047 but I am sure enough that our long cherished dream for making India a great country will come true by that time.

SHRIMATI VASUNDHARA RAJE

[English]

SHRIMATI VASUNDHARA RAJE (Jhalawar): Mr. Chairman, Sir, thank you for giving me this opportunity. I do not aim to make this a long speech. I will try to keep within the minutes that you have given me.

I am touching upon a subject which I believe is very important under the head Human Resource Development. It has been touched upon by various illustrious speakers, in small doses. But I do not believe that it has been given the importance that it deserves. In the situation that prevails today, the subject is population.

I wonder how many of us have noticed the population clock which used to be strategically placed outside the AIIMS. It is not there any more. But while it was there, we got to know of detailed population statistics per second. At that, it was 40 births per second, two per cent annual growth of population, and an addition of almost 18 million people per year. The figures were completely shocking and totally unacceptable, yet all of us have treated this most important problem with complete non-seriousness and nonchalance. If we stopped to think for a minute how we would find, 18 million more cradles, 18 million more creches, 18 million more schools, 18 million more rooms and houses and 18 million more mouths to feed. In 2040, the population will double when what we have today. Where would we have the sidewalk space? Where would we have the road pace? Where would we have house all these people? I think, at this moment, in our fiftieth year, it sit back and wonder; that, if the situation is as had as it is today, what would it be two years from now? What are we going to do about that? What will it be like in 2040?

If we look at this urbanisation, the more the urbanisation, the less the agricultural land, and therefore the less food to feed these the urbanites. This means, more migration, more people going off to hovels, to *jhuggis* and *jhonparis* and there will be a climb in the crime graph. Is this what we are going to give to the future generation.

It is a very very scary situation. It makes one wonder about our planners. Are we paying attention to the most

important problems before us? In 1952, India was one of the pioneering countries to adopt a formal family planning approach. Fifty years later, if we look back over it, we sea that we are at the bottom of the rung *vis-a-vis* implementation.

In 1991, a very sincere effort was made by the Planning Commission who placed before the National Development Council a background paper which dealt with the magnitude of the population problem. A sub-Committee was also formed under the then Prime Minister and there were a lot of distinguished people on that Board amongst whom was the Rajasthan Chief Minister, Shri Bhairon Singh Shekhawat.

Motivated by the deliberations of that Group, the Rajasthan Government under Shri Shekhawat, initiated and passed, by an Ordinance on June 17, 1992 before the Paper even came out, amendments to Section 11 of the Rajasthan Panchayat Act which was ratified by the Rajasthan Assembly along with the Municipalities (Second Amendment) Act on the 28th November, 1992. This provided that any representative who won an election and had more than two children a year after elections could face disqualification. And consequent to this, almost 700 people in the Municipalities and Panchayats faced disqualification. A very similar initiative was taken by other States like Orissa, Andhra Pradesh, Haryana and recently Delhi which has introduced such Bills in their Municipalities.

Andaman and Nicobar Islands along with the Lakshadweep Islands also promoted this scheme and laid a major stress on the concept of the girl child being an asset.

There is a misconception, I feel, that population growth is due to the failure of adopted norms. This is not entirely true because between 1951 and 1998, there was a dramatic drop in the death rate which came down from almost 27.4 per cent to 9.7 per cent without a commensurate decline in the birth rate which registered only a marginal drop from about 39.9 per cent to 30 per cent. There was an undeniable body-blow dealt to this programme during the infamous Emergency period.

It is a researched economic fact that the drop in the fertility rate gives rise to financial and economic growth and fertility is influenced by a variety of factors. Amongst them is women's literacy, women's status, their earning ability, their social acceptability and their ability to participate in crucial family decisions.

It is important that women be empowered because, without this, they will not going to be able to perform this crucial role. Without being empowered, they will not be able to fully devote themselves towards this particular policy, that we should all strive aim to bring about in the years to come.

It is ironical that successive Central Governments have propagated the theory of Economic Reforms being vital to the development process. But no reference whatsoever is ever to Population and its critical effect on the economy. The need of the hour, I think, is to establish sustained and cohesive efforts towards this goal, because, after all, this problem touches us all, and all our lives.

Every political party's manifesto pays some form of lip-service to the population question. But fifty years after Independence, I believe, that the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare is not duly recognised as a nodal Ministry. All planning should, at this moment of time, if we want it to be successful, be centered around this very vital Ministry as also that of the Education Ministry.

The forthcoming Ninth Plan, should recognise, acknowledge and incorporate this fact along with that of Education and make it a prime priority and responsibility.

What can be achieved if every year we add one Australia to our already Swollen ranks? There must be a concentrated, concerted and collection effort, and everybody, whether they be ideologists, opinion makers, media people or Politicians has to be harnest to achieve the last vital reach towards setting India on the path of progress.

Inspired by the Act of Rajasthan Government of 1992 the then Health Minister of the Government of India put up a Constitutional Amendment Bill which was called the Constitution (Seventy-ninth Amendment) Bill 1992. That was in the Rajya Sabha. It could have been differently routed, but, I believe, that to give it the deoved of push and importance, it was they brought it through a Constitution (Amendment) Bill. The role of leaders in this cannot be underplayed and I believe that every leader has a responsibility about doing something for this programme. The two child norm Bill, therefore, first should be recognised as a major step towards the ultimate objective of population growth and population control. I think that the present Minister for Health and Family Welfare should be congratulated for bringing this particular matter to the forefront of the national agenda, so that it is discussed and brought to the minds of most of the people sitting here today. It is shameful that in the 50th year of Independence, our "Tryst with destiny" has led to the ignominy of the World

Bank announcing that 63 per cent of India's children suffer from malnutrition. It is really shameful. It has to be understood that there are no shortcuts to success. As charity must begin at home, we must all start it at home. All of us should choose to lead the Indian electorate at this crucial juncture and we cannot do it with promises of development and a better life. We have to laud by example. I believe all of us have to make that small effort. It will send the correct signal to the populace and show that the negative affect of that emergency period is finally behind us and we intend to take some concrete steps in this direction for the future.

This Bill should be adopted and accepted at the national level. As in Rajasthan, I believe, it will be with prospective effect. A timeframe of a year, as added in the Bill, will be accorded, so that it would not disturb the individual's current status. Nobody needs to worry about that. On the other hand, any child born after that period will be the cause of disqualification. A certain amount of disincentive and incentive will have to be added to it so that more and more people involve themselves with it. To provide this Bill with a truly national status apart from public representatives we have to bring under the purview of this Act, Government employees as well as those in the organised sector. I believe that if all of us involve ourselves in this effort the population situation can till be brought under control. But as long as we sweep this under the carpet and tend not to look at it and talk about growth and economic reform, all that we wish to achieve for our country will not be achievable. At the time of this Historic four day Session, where very very important matters have been discussed. This is one of the most important matters on the Agenda. In the next Session we must sit down and pay very close and deep attention to understand the problems which are going to cause India's stagnation. With this background, if we can sit down and undertake and initiative discussions and come up with concrete solutions and ideas, using the Health Ministry and the Ministry of Human Resource Development as the nodal Ministries, we will be able to make the effort to make our country rich and prosperous.

At this point we must take that small step forward so that it will be a giant step for the generations to come. This will, for posterity, be the genuine "Tryst with destiny" that Nehru talked about, and that we have harped about for fifty years, without really making any significant progress.

I thank you for having given me the opportunity to bring this very vital question to the forefront of everybody's mind and I hope that when we sit down and think about it, we will give this acute problem the importance that it deserves because we have spent a lot of time talking about a lot of things, but this is a subject which all of us need to exercise ourselves about and address on a war-footing.

SHRI PITAMBAR PASWAN

[Translation]

SHRI PITAMBAR PASWAN (Rosera): Mr. Chairman Sir, I am grateful to you for giving me an opportunity to speak and give my suggestions in this special session on the occasion of 50th anniversary of our independence.

Sir, after 50 years of independence, we are discussing that in which fields we have made progress and in which fields we have legged behind during the last 50 years. Our hon'ble speaker has convened this special session with a view to think over the bright future and all round development of the country during the coming time. It appears that first time efforts have been made to bring those in to the mainstream of the country who have been neglected in the last 50 years. Therefore, hon'ble Speaker deserves congratulation for it. Discussion is going on in the House for the last three days. The veteran and experienced leaders are giving their own experiences in this House. Those are also among them who have remained in the power for maximum period in these 50 years. Today they are also getting opportunity to give their suggestions. New members like me who has been elected from the rural areas used to think as to why the country is not making progress, why the poor people are not going ahead and are compelled to admit that there is aberration in the thinking of the people who are in the power and due to which the country has not made the desired progress. I do not say that the country has not made progress. After independence, we have certainly made progress in many fields in these 50 years but it is not the desired progress. We do not consider it as development because those countries which had got independence after us, they are in better position as compared to us. The people of these countries are in prosperous condition and all kinds of facilities are available there and they are in the category of developed counties of the world. After seeing around, it is found that who has actually developed and who has got freedom. Only those people have got freedom who were free, influential, respectful and who had wealth and reputation during the British regime. Today only those people are enjoying the fruit of freedom. The cities which were having electricity

and roads and were shining during pre-independence period today, after independence only these cities have developed and big factories have been set up there. But it is a matter of sorrow that lakhs of martyrs sacrificed their lives to make this country free. They had their dream. Mahatma Gandhi had charished dream that India is a country of villages and 80 per cent population lives in the villages. These villages constituting India are poor, farmers, labourers living in the villages are poor and they are not being respected. Till the indigenous textiles, languages are not developed and small domestic factories are not set up here, India can not be considered as an independent country. The freedom of India can be reflected in these things. But India of Mahatma Gandhi's vision could not take shape. Those who were in the power did not follow the principles of Mahatma Gandhi. They thought about big industries only while Mahatma Gandhi was of the view that employment should be provided to the unemployed people in the villages, small scale industries and cottage industries should be set up there. This was the thinking of Mahatma Gandhi but it did not happen. We talk about progress and all round development of the country but we forget the issues and the people for whom he had done all these things and advocated to launch a movement for their development.

Even after 50 years of independence what is happening today? During the pre-independence period, he was hurt to see that atrocities were being committed against dalits and harijans, they were being insulted, they were the victim of untouchability and hate of the people and their condition was worse than the animals. Gandhiji had said that after independence, untouchability would be abolished and respect would be restored to Dalits. He gave them the name 'Harijan' and 'Adivasi'. Today, in our Constitution they had been mentioned as 'Harijan' and 'Adivasi'. Legislations were enacted that atrocities would not be committed against Harijans and for this purpose Harijan Atrocities Act was enacted but what is happening; to what extent this act is being implemented? Who will implement it, those who are committing atrocities against them for centuries, they cannot give them respect, they can not do justice with them. Justice is meant for the rich only and poor, Harijans. Dalits and others cannot get justice because justice is being sold in the courts Dalits, Harijans do not have money to purchase the justice. Atrocities are being committed against Dalits, Harijans and their women folk and when they move the court, criminals are acquitted, they are released and Harijans are humiliated in the courts too. They are insulted in judiciary as well as in the society. We have to consider as to why even after 50 years we have not been able to abolish untouchability. We talk more, enact legislations but it remains in statute only, it is not implemented. Today can anybody claim that there is no untouchability in the society? Today, entry in temples is not prohibited for them. But I am ready to give example that untouchability is still prevailing in the society. Even today 'Harijans' are considered as untouchables. Even stone idols cannot be touched by 'Harijans'. I would like to say that who will be developed, which India will be developed, I was listening to my colleagues. Many friends have said that India has developed, it is alright but 'Bharata' has not been developed, which had been cherished by Mahatma Gandhi.

I have grief in my heart for the dalit section to which I belong. I am having this grief since I was born. I have concealed it since that day. Today, I got the opportunity to speak in this august House. Who had given it, the Government here not given it, society has not given it. If Baba Saheb Ambedkar had not been here, if reservation had not been provided in the constitution the people like Pitambar Paswan would have not been there in this august House. He could not say anything for the welfare of 'dalits'. They could not talk about the atrocities committed on dalits. But this system has not developed yet. Whether we may say. I would like to say that who are the people in the lowest row, they are the people who are living in jhuggi-jhonparis these people are migrating from the villages. Today, there is so much disrespect, pain in village that there is no work, no facility. That is why these people are coming to cities. Whether it is Delhi, Mumbai, Calcutta or Chennai, the concern is being shown everywhere that jhuggi jhonparis are coming up everywhere at large scale. Place is being narrowed down. But no one has bothered to think about them.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please conclude.

SHRI PITAMBAR PASWAN: I am speaking for the first time. I have already said that I am from that section which has pain in its hearts. Please let the world and country know about the pain and sentiments in my heart.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You have already expressed your sentiments.

SHRI PITAMBAR PASWAN: Today who are living in jhuggi-jhonparis, it should be got surveyed. Those people are dalits, exploited who are 80 per cent of the population of country. If you want development of this country, want to make this country prosperous then it cannot be done by leaving them aside. Those people construct roads, chairs, stitches clothes, gives you respect and use to observe you, if someone say they are progressing by wiping them out, showing disrespect to them, then this progress can never be materialized.

In the end, I would like to conclude by saying one more thing. Today everyone of us needs to think over it, whether it is people on treasury benches or hon'ble members sitting in this House or reputed intellectuals, they will have to think

over it that we should strive to bring these people in the direction of development, in the dignity of this country, in the mainstream of this country, only then we will get real independence and this country will proceed further.

There is a saying:

"Kathni meethi khandsi, karni vish ki loye,
Kathani taj karni kare, to vish se amrit hoye."

I hope that this House will certainly do something for upliftment of poor dalit sections in the development of the country by doing something concrete.

SHRI L. BALARAMAN

*SHRI L. BALARAMAN (Vandavasi): Hon'ble Chairman, we are now celebrating the Golden Jubilee of our Independence. I thank you for the opportunity given to me to speak on this occasion when we sit through a special commemorative session as initiated by the Hon'ble Speaker of this august House. Our presiding officer in his address said that we would be resorting to a soul-search to think of duties ahead of us in the light of the achievements we have made so far. At this moment, as the elected representatives of the people in this democratic set up, we are duty bound to evolve strategies to show a direction to the masses of this country. We have a responsibility to educate our people about their duties and obligations. We must show a bright path to the youth of the country. We must evovle ways and means to show a purpose and direction to the future generation. We are at this session to ponder over these responsibilities. We are proud to be part of this historic session to deliberate on this agenda. No one can deny that this session would definitely prove fruitful to do a thorough study and come out with thoughts that would be treasured by the future India. Everyone of us may have different views and perceptions. But for a change for the past three days we find many hon'ble members speak above party lines. We wholeheartedly commit ourselves to think of the welfare of the masses and the well being of the people. This effort made in this House is a welcome one and a laudable one. I am proud to be a part in it.

Our Indian culture and tradition are age-old and long-cherished. It is history that we gave civilisation to the world as an early civilisation that was there even before five thousand years. We preserve this evolution of civilisation till date. Mohen-ja-daro and Harappan civilisations are part of our cherished cultural tradition. Our culture is documented in our great epics like 'Ramayanam' and 'Mahabharatham'. Through them we make it known to the outside world. We are proud of our rich heritage and we also see the whole world watching us that way holding us high as those who belong to a glorious past and a vastly rich cultural heritage. Above all virtues like truth, non-violence and tolerance are one in our blood. We are respected and regarded for this rich tradition of ours.

We have also made this special session an occasion to introspect on our democratic political system and to evolve methods to preserve it intact. When we became independent, we were agog with diversities in abundance. We have many languages. We have many cultural entities. We have many religions. We have very many castes. All these diversities raised a doubt whether our democracy would survive for long. The inimical imperialists who had enslaved us and others tried to create a wedge between us. They wanted to divide us through these diversities. We have changed the scope for this apprehension. We have wiped out the doubts of the sceptics and we have stood united as one democratic country with unity all these fifty years. We have followed the path shown by Mahatma Gandhi and we have established a democratic form of Government. No one can deny that we have proved its longevity and durability in these fifty years.

We can have the rightful pride that the basis of our democracy is in Gandhiji's truth, non-violence and tolerance. This must go on. Mahatma Gandhiji the symbol of India's unity and integrity was there. Jawaharlal Nehru who ushered in industrial development was there. The one who gave shape to India and enlarged its size in the Indian map, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel was there. He annexed several princely States and united a vast country right from Himalayas to Cape Comarin. Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose who was a terror to the imperialists said, "India is my land. I will give my life to win freedom for my country". Such great dedicated leaders took us to the goal to achieve our freedom. Devoted mass leaders like Kamaraj who was also known as Kaala Gandhi and his mentor-leader Sathyamoorthy dedicatedly worked to win us our freedom. It is now our duty to preserve our freedom intact. It is not an easy task to safeguard and preserve the free democratic set up.

*Translation of the speech originally delivered in Tamil.

Ours was depicted as a poverty-stricken country with disparities and inequalities. We were considered poor by all standards. We are overcoming that. We have to take into consideration the past, the present and the future. We are now at the crossroads to plan for a better future to march ahead.

As far as our growth of economy is considered, it has passed through many phases. We have come through several stages. When we look at it, we find an unequal state of growth. Rural areas have not developed the same way as our urban areas have. There is a disparity. 70% of our population live in villages. They do not have basic needs and amenities. Rural people do not have drinking water and adequate shelter. How to surmount this problem of unequal growth? When we look at it with serious concern, we find that the allocations made for rural reconstruction programmes are not sufficient. It is our democratic duty to correct this lopsided growth.

After independence towns and cities have grown in many ways. Urban Population have got attention paid on them. When urban areas grow in all respects day by day, the living conditions in villages become poorer. The villagers do not get enough of helping hand to come up in life. There was a time in China when serious measures were taken to control migration of rural population towards urban areas. Such a condition occured in that country. Our country should not face such a situation. That apprehension can be wiped out only when we take appropriate measures to improve the lot of the rural population. It is our democratic duty. Gandhiji has shown us the way. In the path of Gandhi, we can develop rural areas to be self-sustained and self-contained. We must help the rural people who have born there to live honourably there with ample opportunities. We must create conducive atmosphere for that ideal growth. Small scale industries and agriculture related activities should be given thrust in rural areas.

When we come to agriculture we find that it is an occupation with an unmatchingly lower a return disproportionate to the investments made therein. Though agriculture is not an industry it is like a sick industry. Those who invest in agriculture are not wealthy and well to do. At the same time gainful returns are not there. It just remains an occupation. We might have generally increased our food production. But still the cop cultivation is not that remunerative. Whether it is paddy or sugarcane, the agricultural workers do not get the wages accordingly and the growers do not get adequate remuneration. This affects the village life. We must create conducive atmosphere to boost the morale of the farming community and save them from giving up hopes. New scientific advancements have come. New technologies and strategies have come about. They must reach the agriculturists of the rural areas. What reaches them through extension is not enough. Water management techniques are needed to be imparted to them. Because it is a perennial need in the absence of any perennial water supply. We do not have effective ways and means to take these water-management techniques to villages. Growing more with less water is a modern scientific approach. This has been adopted and followed elsewhere. But these scientific methods are yet to be introduced in most of our villages.

River waters have become permanent source of problems between States and also to the Centre. River water sharing have created problems and divide people. It becomes sentimental issue resulting in confrontations between States. Cauvery waters that flew freely into Tamil Nadu from time immemorial scarcely flow these days. Its flow has been curtailed. It is assuming bigger dimension to become a gigantic problem. In our democratic form of Government such problems should get solved. Nationalising river waters could be a solution. For the past many years we have been talking about linking Ganga with Cauvery. We must get into business to evolve plans to take up such schemes at least now however big they are.

After independence, Nehruji worked hard and strived to keep this country united with his ceaseless hard task in nation building. Lal Bahadur Shastri who was an embodiment of simplicity gave a slogan 'Jai Kisan Jai Jawan'. Now in our macro economic restructuring, the welfare programmes for the agriculturists and farmers should not be seen as a hurdle that come in the way of economic growth. This is an apprehension and this must go. In order to ensure rural development, agriculture and agro-based industries and agriculture-related-activities must get a boost as was done by the modern architects of India. The rural agricultural labourers should have employment opportunity during non-agricultural season.

When our hon'ble Speaker addressed the members, he even pointed out the difference between the per hectare cultivation and production obtained in our country and that of other countries. In our future India we must ensure increased production by way of adopting such modern scientific agricultural methods and we need to evolve scheme to extend them to our farmers.

Primary education is crucial and essential in our country. There are villages without schools. In villages where there are schools, teachers may not be there. If when schools are there and appointed teachers are also there we may find the absence of teachers from such village schools. We must spend more on primary education. We must give

compulsory education at the primary education without gender bias to both boy and girl children. Our present education system forces the Government to spend more on higher education. The priority must be altered. Primary education must get a boost because that scheme would benefit the poorer sections of the society in a big way. We must start mass campaign to bring illiteracy to an end.

As far as poverty scenario is concerned, we find a vast difference between what is claimed by our Planning Commission and what is projected by the World Bank. When Planning Commission claim that the number of people living below the poverty line has been brought down from 25% to 21%, the World Bank says that the 25% of such Indian poor live permanently below poverty line. There are many poverty alleviation programmes. Do they really percolate down to the people at the grass root level? Most of the members who spoke ahead of me in this august House have pointed out that it is only 50% of the fund allocated that percolates down to the needy poor people. Whether they are schemes meant for SC/ST population or schemes of general poverty alleviation in rural areas, the schemes must be devised in such a way that they benefit all the needy rural people.

As far as population growth is concerned, it grows to be an alarming problem in India. We have seen that poverty and population growth are interrelated. We have also noticed that child birth is more in poverty stricken areas. It is only in States which have more of illiteracy we find more of this problem of population explosion. Our statistics reveal that five children are born every second in India. We must take effective steps to control population growth. This needs to be arrested.

We are going in for several programmes to check pollution and to protect environment. We must have effective machinery to implement environment related measures.

There must be scope for people's participation in administration which needs to be responsive. As far as removal of corruption is concerned we have got a clarion call to participate in a second freedom struggle of India. The communal and caste clashes which sparsely take place in the country should not become a recurrent and permanent phenomenon. We must unite the people in the name of democracy, truth, non-violence and tolerance. We must bring to an end these caste clashes. The future of India would depend on the trend we would be setting now.

The essence of Indian culture is found in the unity in diversity. We are a proud country to remain united with so many culture, languages, religions and races. To ensure a bright future we must resolve to uphold honesty, hard work and hope. Then it would be easier for us to guide the future generation.

Lakhs of youth of this country are unemployed and it was stated that they are becoming extremists in some cases. We must tackle this problem with responsibility. We must evolve plans and programmes to create jobs and wean away the youth from losing hopes. The Governments both at the Centre and the States should address to this unemployment problem in a big way to offset the social tensions and possible upheavals.

I once again thank the Chair for the opportunity given to me. Thank you.

Long live India, victory be India's.

SHRI SULTAN SALAHUDDIN OWAISI

SHRI SULTAN SALAHUDDIN OWAISI (Hyderabad): Mr. Chairman, Sir, this four days session has been convened to discuss what the country has achieved in 50 years and what were its weaknesses and what will be their solution. But here it seems that general discussion is going on, every body is expressing the problems of his/her constituency.

But here the question is that if any issue in the country is to be solved, then first of all it should be identified properly. When a patient comes to a doctor, first of all he enquires about the symptoms and the factors responsible for the disease and treats thereafter. Only then treatment becomes easy. Here the situation is such that I have nothing to say about it. When it comes to justice, then I have to say that someone is taking 20 minutes and someone is taking one hour and there are a few who ruled for five years but could not do anything but today they are speaking for one hour five minutes. I would like to ask as to what could be expected from them.

We got independence 50 years back. What was the position of the minorities at that time? In 1947, there were 30 percent muslims in government jobs but today, they are only one to one and half percent. In 1980, out of 60 lakh industries in Hindustan, 14 thousands were owned by

Muslims. You can imagine that how slowly they were reduced. On the one hand they were subjected to riots and on the other their condition has been made to deteriorate. Barnala Saheb was speaking that when riots of 1984 against sikhs took place, their belongings T.V. etc. were also recovered and the cases are going on for years. But I would say that more than 30 thousand riots have taken place in Hindustan. But till date our belongings have not been recovered so far. You should be grateful that your belongings have been recovered. Here no prosecution could be started and even a single person was not penalized. Please tell me what is the rule of law? League of Nations has worked for minorities and again in 1966 a resolution was accepted by U.N.O. under Article 27 of this resolution provisions has been made for the safeguard of the interests of minorities and it has also been signed by Hindustan. But please tell me what has been done till today? Today we have full figures. Muslims should be introduced in police forces. Our belongings are looted away, our lives are taken away and it is we who are arrested and cases are also registered against us. If the Muslims are recruited in Police Force then I understand that this injustice being done can be brought to an end. You will have to see the number of IAS officers also belonging to Muslim community in the country. Likewise you can see that only three percent Muslims are in Income Tax Department in the country; Railways, where there are maximum number of employment, have only four per cent Muslims. Today the hon. Minister is not present here, had he been here, I could have urged upon him. Our hon. Prime Minister has said from the Red Fort that a cell has been set up to fight out corruption. It would have been better if a cell had been set up in Prime Minister's House regarding the injustice being done with us. We lack in the field of education. Our population has been destroyed and our breed has been ruined. Even then we run our business at our own. We run the hospitals with our own money. Even that is disliked. If we run an engineering college, 50 per cent is asked from us. Is it not imperialism or the policy of the Britishers? We are poor. If we work separately, 50 per cent is demanded from us. The Government is responsible, why does not it do? A bench of 11 judges of Supreme Court was formed but how it has been dismantled. It is lying useless. The praiseworthy Article 31-A has also been lying useless. When we talk about our rights, we are charged with communalism. I would like to submit that it is our figures. The one who snatches our rights is not communal while I am a communal, who cries for his rights. Communalism has been becoming a wonderful thing. We have to ponder over it. Our number in police is 2.5 per cent, in income tax department it is 3 per cent, in railways it is 2.5 per cent, in banks it is 2 per cent and in Government services it is 4 per cent. I have already said about industries, we own small industries and have only 14 thousand such industries with us. I remember that 3-4 years back when Kesri Sahib was the Minister, Shri Jaipal Reddy had raised questions about the Muslims. Kesriji had assured to look after them properly. Today Kesriji is in opposition and Jaipal Reddyji is the hon. Minister. He had raised question about the Gopal Krishna report. That report has been lying in cold storage.

Today thousands of people are entrapped in TADA. We had fought against that law during the British period, today many people have been languishing in jails for four years. Today the situation is that they have been detained forcibly for long and none can appeal against that and there is none to enquire about them. Their children have been weeping and some of them have died. We are celebrating the 50th anniversary of freedom. The families which are starving and the children of whom are deprived of medicine have been trapped in TADA. I have seen the innocent child studying in high school. What can he do? But he has been trapped in TADA. Nobody is concerned about them. The injustice being done with them should be removed. Rao Sahib has spoken for one hour and five minutes where have the 500 crore rupees gone which were allocated by him as the Prime Minister? It is not visible anywhere.

Today, the United Front is in power. Have they been able to solve a single issue out of their agenda? Nothing has been done. Only promises were made so far. At least assure us by when the promises would be fulfilled so that we can come to know that in the 100th year of freedom, the promises would be fulfilled.

21.00 hrs.

50 years have gone and now do they want to take 50 years more? Only promises were made and when we cry out the position is that the cat comes out of the bag. It is an Urdu proverb that however good the veil may be but the cat comes out of the bag. Uma Bharti ji has said a very good thing that they are not against the Muslims but she said later on that come on after leaving aside the issues of veil, marriage and divorce. Then I would like to submit that whatever they want from that side, if they would come to this side, they will get everything. Why are they crying out that the Dalits are not getting their rights? Come to this side. Everything is there. Your population would increase. After all, I know how to give the reply. We too have a tongue in our mouths. I have such a vast vocabulary that the entire BJP would not be able to challenge may oratory. Sir, I would like to submit this much only that illegal encroachments of crores of rupees are being done on the Waqf's land. There is no law for them till date. You are ringing the bell, then let me say. I beg your pardon and would like to submit that, when someone prior to you was

in the chair the time limit of 10 minutes was fixed but those on the other side went on speaking for 25 minutes and now when we are speaking, we are being treated in this way, so justice should be done with us. Even then the bell rings after ten minutes and on that side it does not ring even after 25 minutes. These bells are being rung for us. At least take a notice of these bells. Our issues of Waqf's and other major issues should be taken into account and a law should be enacted at the earliest so that the issues can be solved and I hope that Mulayam Singhji would also raise these issues in the committee since people expect that he would favour them. He was given several honours. We hope that our problems would be solved and when reservation is being given to all, if a list of reservation is prepared then 83 per cent would be covered by reservation. Then there is the open way and in it too your share exists. We will not exist anywhere. I would like to submit this much only that I am thankful to you for giving me time to speak even after a long wait. Only ten minutes were given, injustice has been done but I am happy that at least ten minutes have been given to me. While thanking you, I conclude.

SHRIMATI RAJANI PATIL

SHRIMATI RAJANI PATIL (Beed): Mr. Chairman, Sir, in this special session of Parliament convened by the Hon'ble Speaker on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of India's Independence, many Members have given suggestions and have expressed their views on the past, present and future of the nation.

It is a matter of great importance for me to participate in this special session. Not only as a Member of Parliament but also as a Member belonging to a family of freedom fighters, I think this special session is a historic event for me. Late Shri Vishnu Ganesh ji who had participated in the Gadar Sangthan and who was hanged in Lahore in 1915, was my grandfather. Late Shri Atam Ram Patil who was my father was imprisoned many times for years right from the satyagrah in 1932 to Goa liberation struggle. Since I hail from a family of freedom fighters and I have got a chance to speak in this highest auditorium of Indian democracy, it is a matter of pride and privilege for me. I myself was born when India was free. When I was born, India was a free nation. But when we talk of entering into 21st century while celebrating 50th anniversary of our Independence, I want to raise some issue in this session about our young generation. The young generation has contributed in every sphere of the country all the times. When we talk about freedom movement, the names of Khudiram Bose, Bhagat Singh, Vir Saverkar and many other names come before our mind who actively participated in our freedom movement. The young generation of that time had very lofty ideals and noble objectives before them and they were prepared to take the risk of their lives for achieving them. Our young generation has shouldered their responsibility in a befitting manner every time. Despite this fact, if we see today, our young generation seems to be unhealthy, restless, desperate and directionless. They are in search of their identity. You just have a glimpse of an ordinary home, the parents send their children to good schools even if they have to remain half-fed, sacrifice their every happiness for their children and when their children become post-graduates or graduates and have a degree, they entertain dreams that their children will get good jobs and will become self-dependent and would start earning. However, when their children step in the real world, what they find. If I begin to describe the sequences, tears will trickle down our eyes. They have to face corruption at every step and they are asked for money for getting a job. If anyone wants a job he should have access to a man of influence or repute. If he does not have any access to such a person, then he should have sufficient money. If he wants a loan from a bank to start his own business, he will have to bribe the people incharge of advancing loan. The number of educated youth is on the rise. There are many graduates and even double post-graduates who are forced to work as labourer. This is the bitter truth which I am telling and these young men and women are in search of their own identity and self-respect.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, recently elections to Zila Parishad were held in our State in which these incidents occurred which had a serious impact on my mind. When we were on the rounds for canvassing, 15, or 17 young boys were canvassing in a jeep and they were inebriated. They were shouting slogans of 'Zindabad' and 'Murdabad'. It seemed to me that for our own political gains one could put at stake the young generation. Nobody has given us a right to ruin our young generation. We are using them as a tool in politics by inculcating bad habits in them. What will happen to their future? This left an indelible mark on my mind. Our country has got a great tradition. Many a great personalities were born on this land. Their names made

us bow our forehead. There is a galaxy of names which include Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaja, Mahatma Gandhi, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, Subhash Chandra Bose, Maulana Azad, Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel, Veer Saverkar, Dr. Ambedkar etc. But what we see today is that the personalities whom the entire country is proud of and who are the heritage of the glorious tradition of our country, we have not even spared them to divide. In order to restrict Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj to Maharashtra, Dr. Ambedkar to the doors of dalits and Subhash Chandra Bose to Bangal, we have divided these towering personalities sometimes in the name of State and sometimes in the name of caste and even in the name of religion. When I think of young generation of the country, it is relevant to mention about the women community of this country. The woman of today is in search of her own identity. We talk of emancipation of women but in real terms, they have to shoulder dual responsibility. She is a mother in a home, a sister of somebody else in another home and performs the duties of a wife of some other. And outside home she works a lot along with men—whether she is a woman working in fields, a woman of a farmer's family, a working woman, a woman from the families residing in cities or a woman sitting in the Parliament in front of us—all women have got common problems, they have to shoulder dual responsibility everywhere. Her problems start from the moment she takes birth on this earth.

We say with pride that we have made a lot of progress in the field of science and technology but we are making use of that progress for sex determination test. If female child is there in the womb, it is easily aborted. I want to lay emphasis on the fact that we will have to make laws most stringent to cope up with this situation because many women have to under go this test now a days.

There are many problems relating to family planning. My colleague Vasundhara Raje has expressed very good views about the family planning just now. I want to ask how many women in India have the right to take a decision about the size of their family? If husband and wife are ready for abortion, even then it is the wife who has to undergo the trauma of abortion process. It is just a coincidence that our Health Minister, Renuka ji is a woman. She had said in the last session that only three per cent of men undergo the trauma of adopting family planning measures and it is the women who constitute the remaining 97 per cent, who have to undergo the trauma of family planning measures. This is the condition of women in our country.

If we really want to launch the family planning programme. Charity begins at home—

We should start it from ourselves. Many suggestions have been given here. One suggestion is that those who have more than two children should not be given ticket for Lok Sabha and Assembly elections. If they want to be representatives of people, the two children norm should be enforced. We should accept this suggestion.

When it comes to providing 33 per cent reservation to women and when a lot of discussion has already been taken place on the relevant Bill, the eyes of people within the country and outside the country are focussed on the Lok Sabha, I feel it is necessary to make a mention of it here. It is unfortunate that the bill could not be passed here. But the more unfortunate thing is that several hon. Members have proved that 'All that glitters is not gold.'

Lastly, I would say that we have been mentioning Mahatma Gandhiji's name here from morning to evening. He had given a call to 'move towards village' and he thought that unless our villages become self-reliant, our country would not prosper. Here, several members have given the details of the progress made in the country during the last fifty years. Some of them have expressed their comments and some have critisized it. 75 per cent of our population is from the rural areas. We watch in the movies that the heroine is singing and dancing and the atmosphere is very good in the village but in reality the atmosphere is not so good in the villages. To be frank, we could not even provide lavatory facilities in the villages even after 50 years of Independence. It was said in the Puranas that 'Yatra Naryastu Poojyante, Ramante Tatra Devantha' which means 'where women is respected God resides there'. Today the condition in the villages is such that the women had to go to a distant place, far away from their villages to attend the nature call. It is indeed a matter of shame for all of us. I am compelled to say that even today after 50 years of Independence our women folk, mothers and sisters have to walk two-three kilometers, carrying pots to bring water. We don't find Pucca roads in the villages. If there is power supply then only a farmer can get the water for the fields and crops, otherwise not. In my region, which is a most backward area of Marathwada, there is not even a single railway line.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, there is not even a railway line in my region. If any person from my region wants to see a train then he would have to go to a very far place to see the train. There is no facility of transportation and hospitals. If there is a hospital, there is no building. If there is a building, there is no doctor. The fertilizers do not available in time in the shops. When the crops grow and ready for harvesting then only the farmer gets the fertilizers. Therefore,

it would be of no help to the farmer. Even if the farmer gets seeds he doesn't know the quality of seeds. He comes to know about the quality of seeds when the seeds grow up.

In villages, there are no school buildings for children. If there is a school building then there is no teacher. Where there are teachesr, no teaching takes place. If teaching is there, there papers are leaked. You might have seen that this year IAS papers have been leaked out. You just think what would happen to our young generation. Our younger generation is not facing one but many problems.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, we are talking about science and technology, we are talking about marching towards 21st century. We are talking about computer age but we are not talking about basic infrastructure and its development. If we can't develop our infrastructure then it would not be a matter of joy for us and then independence would not mean anything for us. If we want to respect the independence struggle. If we want to respect the Independence we got due to the sacrifices of our elders then we must adopt the basic principles. We would have to wipe out the tears of the most neglected persons. If we could wipe out their tears. If we could solve their problems then it would be a matter of great importance for us. If a time comes when we have to repeat the struggle movement, we would definitely not turn back.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, with these words, I salute the freedom fighters of our country and I thank you for giving me an opportunity to speak on this historical occasion. I also thank the hon. members with these words I conclude my speech.

SHRI ILIYAS AZMI

SHRI ILIYAS AZMI (Shahabad): Thank you, Mr. Chairman, Sir, we are suppose to hold discussions on some important points during these three days but I am sorry to say that as expected, nothing fruitful had come out of discussions. Most of our friends have delivered free-style speeches. But I would neither repeat them nor I am here to give a reply to anyone. I would take up only these points which were fixed for the purpose. I thank those who had fixed these four-five points for this special session. If we could find out any way-out by rising above the party affiliations, then this Eleventh Lok Sabha can become a history, whatever the tenure of it may be. There is apprehension in the minds of the members about the tenure of this Lok Sabha.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, while we are celebrating 50th anniversary of our Independence, the nostalgic moments of my childhood are lingering into my thought as if any film is being screened. I remember 1942. I remember the day when Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose had reached upto Manipur. I also remember that on 5th August and 6th August bombs had been dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki respectively and on 10th August Japan had surrendered arms. The people who are elder to me may remember that election was cancelled due to Britain war. Election were held in 1945. At that time Lord Clivent Atli, who was a representative of Labour Party, had said in his Election manifesto that, If they win the elections, then they would leave the entire world and would return to Britain. At that time conservative party was in power. They opposed this and election was held on only one issue. When the Labour Party won the election, then Lord Clivent Atli informed this good news to the entire world through BBC that they are returning back to Britain. Such an empire like Britain where the sun never sets, today it is in such a condition that the sun does not rise for five months in a year.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I do not say that we have wasted 50 years. We have done some good things also during these 50 years. We have strengthened the democracy during this period and we have strengthened the unity of the Independent country. I cannot but praise the Election Commission that the commission has maintained the credibility electoral system despite having some irregularities and booth capturing incidents. We have developed basic economic structure. We have set up steel Industries and major refineries and we have expanded the railway network. We have constructed big roads and widened our ports and our biggest achievement is that we have been able to keep a diverse country like ours intact and we have also infused a vibrant spirit in the entire nation, that I can say with full assertion that there is absolutely no danger at all to our national integrity by the time we commemorate the 100th years of our Independence. However, there are some successionist trends and movements in some parts in our country. But if we overlook some historical aspects then this specially convened session of Parliament will not deliver any good to the nation.

We attained our Independence on 15th August, 1947 just like a moving train with the same destination, stations

and stoppages as if only driver was changed. You call it as complete freedom. We admit that we got independence as elections are held on the basis of adult franchise. After the exit of Britishers from India, the administrative network evolved by the Britishers with the sole aim of enslaving the Indian masses was continued and after the power came in the hands of Indians, they had a stronger feeling than even the Britishers, to keep the Indian masses under subjugation. This is the reason why they did all to strengthen the administrative set up of Britishers. This happened because the power came into the hands of those who were kept under subjugation for thousands of years. Therefore, they evolved such an administrative set up wherein those who were supposed to be the servants of the people became their masters.

Today, we call the present system as democracy but honestly speaking it is not democracy but it is the system dominating the democracy. Today, the system has grown stronger than the democracy and is steffling it. There is democracy in Parliament and assemblies but it is conspicuously absent in villages, districts, district headquarters, blocks and police 'Thanas'. It is the system dominating public every where and we have perhaps deliberately strengthened it under our age old attitudes.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, the system has grown so strong that if the people in villages do not salute then their very existence is in jeopardy. The people who have long been in power, could perhaps not realise the authoritativeness of this system. Today the state of affair at the lower level where 85 percent of our population resides is well refolded in the words of Pt. Nehru who inaugurated the very first block at Ratnapur said that this block was being established as temple of development and if the corruption enter into them then the public must do away with them. But today the condition of such blocks is well before everyone. At the time, the gramsevaks were appointed in the blocks but under the spirel of authoritarianism they made officers which ultimately led to the spread of the spirit of authoritarianism even in the lower rank of officers. Of course it were we who made them officers with the sole aim of exploiting them.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, we may call the Britishers as cruel and tyrants as they ruled us for a long time. After the reoccupation in 1862 they ruled us unintleropedly for next 90 years. Therefore, we call them cruel and tyrants. This House was there in the British rule as well. Though the number of Members was 100 out of which 55 were Hindus and 30 Muslims and 15 as the representatives of the Princely States and Sikhs and Christians. The Britishers had made a draconian law called DIR. It is quite shameful for us that we retained all the draconian laws framed by the Britishers but the Britishers had not even thought of laws like MISA, gangaster Act and Goonda Act. Let me say that we also framed the draconian law 'TADA' of which even the worst kind of a dictator might not have thought in a democratic set up. I would earnestly say that if we want to learn some lessons from it, then we must constitute an award and name it as 'Saitan Award', one who had drafted the 'TADA' law and gave this idea should be conferred upon the first 'Saitan Award' and all Hitler like rulers in the world who intend to suppress the masses by such draconian law should be awarded this award so as to make them realise that they will not go scotfree and will be called saitans in the democratic countries. 'TADA' was made with a purpose to end terrorism but time has proved that 'TADA' aggravated the menace of terrorism and with the scrapping of TADA the terrorism has mitigated to some extent. In fact, 'TADA' was made to aggrevated the problem of terrorism, had it been enacted to end terrorism then, terrorism would have been ended when it was strictly implemented. But with scrapping of TADA, the terrorism mitigated. I again say that TADA was framed to add to the problem of terrorism and I can not help myself from denouncing those who enacted it.

During these 50 years we have hyped much on the slogan of secularism. Those who were secular branded others as communal and those who were called communal they used to call psyedo secularist. Are we ready to admit the fact that so called secularist have been in power in these 50 years. Among these secular called people, the section of minorities was so much intelligent until 15th August, 1947 that they could get 33 per cent in all competition but from 16th August onwards they became so staped even to get one per cent in competitions. This fact can simply not be subscribed. I admit that gross injustice has been meted out with them and under the brahamanic mentality new tradition was ashored in to make new 'Shudras'. This effort was made by harping on the slogan of secularism. I ask whether they do not feel any shame in chanting the slogan of secularism. They were in power and perhaps first time after Hitler, a government took out its people from their houses, kept them in police stations, packed them in trucks, shot them dead and threw away in rivers and canals. Can they be called secular? Those, 300 in number, who could not be thrashed were sent to Fatahgarh jail, then, police force from other places was sent, the prisoners were forcibly taken out and thrashed red and blue. They all belonged to a particular community. Secularism means that majority does not have such a dominating control over minorities. I do not agree that the

slogan of secularism was altogether wrong. They were soundly thrashed and seven persons were killed in the jail. The prisoners of jail did not do anything, the police from other places was sent with this purpose. Were they secular? Can those be called secular who murdered as many as 1,800 people in Bhagalpur in collusion with govt. machinery and were buried in the agriculture fields and murdered and cauliflower samplings were planted over them and they call themselves secular. I think that we ought to be ashamed of the way we use the word 'secularism'. A poet from my District Azamgarh has said:

"Yeh raakh makaanon ki, jaaya na karo sagar,
ye ahle siyasat ke, rukhsar ke gaaza hain."

The faces of the political leaders are smeared with these ashes. For 40 years, darkness was spread in the name of secularism. I thank Allah and the people of India that this darkness has been removed after 40 years. Today, some elements are getting restless to spread the darkness again but I have full confidence in the people of this country that they would never allow such people, who do not practice what they profess, to envelop this country into darkness once again. The BJP members use the term pseudo-secularism. They say that there is pseudo-secularism. The usage is wrong. I feel that some people are frauds and they should be dubbed as secular frauds. Those who speak about secularism—there is one such big leader ...(Interruptions) I have not taken much time some Members have spoken for 50 minutes and even one hour. I won't make a very long speech. I'll only make some suggestions. After two-three minutes I'll express my views on the action required to be taken. There is a member who is projecting himself as a secular leader. When he was the Welfare Minister he used to give statements that reservation facility should be provided to Muslims. He used to issue such statements daily. Today he the shadow Prime Minister, is running his Government and controlling such brave leaders as Shri Mulayam Singh Yadav and others. Why has he forgotten the issue of reservation for Muslims. He has been raising such slogans in order to mislead the people and create hatred. I would say that he is the actual Prime Minister. So why does not he raise the issue of reservation for Muslims anymore which he used to as a Welfare Minister. The term secularism is used but what is the criterion of secularism. The criterion of secularism is the satisfaction of minorities. If the minority is satisfied, then there is secularism and that is the yardstick. Whoever fulfils this criterion can be called secular.

I won't take much time. After concluding this point, I came to the other point as to how reform can take place and how can the evils be removed? My first suggestion is that we should put an end to IAS regime. So long as direct IAS are there, and the full form of it stands as 'I am Safe' and so long as we do not recruit people at grassroot level as a clerk or a sepoy and that sepoy should reach the rank of D.G.P. on the basis of hard work, sincerity and dedication, we can not improve the things. After getting the post of S.P., if such a person shows laxity or is insincere, he should be reverted. If we have such a regime under which a Clerk can become cabinet secretary by virtue of his hard work, sincerity, dedication and alertness and if later on he shows laxity, he should be reverted... If this regime is imposed, the country would be benefited.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please conclude.

[Translation]

Your time is over.

SHRI ILIYAS AZMI: I have a suggestion regarding centrally sponsored scheme, for which funds are released. Embezzlement is done very openly in such schemes. For example, three crore rupees have been released as grant for my district under the National Literacy Mission and I throw a challenge to the bureaucracy that if they show three persons who were made literate under the scheme in District Hardoe, I'll be prepared to resign from my Lok Sabha seat. If even three persons are not made literate by spending three crore rupees, all these centrally sponsored schemes should be stopped and the funds allocated for National Literacy Mission should be diverted to the secondary schools which have not figured on the aid list in Uttar Pradesh in the last 12 years.

Electoral reforms too are a necessity. I have a proposal regarding electoral reforms also which I have submitted to the Election Commission and I'll dwell upon it at some other occasions. So far as the issue of strengthening the democracy is concerned ...(*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Your time is over.

SHRI ILIYAS AZMI: I am concluding. I have taken only ten minutes so far.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Only ten minutes, you have already spoken for 16 minutes. You have taken 17 minutes so far.

SHRI ILIYAS AZMI: I am not making free style speech. I am speaking to the point.

MR. CHAIRMAN: All right, you have made very good suggestions.

SHRI ILIYAS AZMI: Those having free style have spoken for one hour. As regards democracy, it will be strengthened only when amendments are made in Anti-defection law.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please sit down.

SHRI ILIYAS AZMI: I am concluding in two-three minutes.

MR. CHAIRMAN: It is not a matter of two-three minutes. You have already taken 16 minutes. A number of Members are yet to speak.

SHRI ILIYAS AZMI: I am concluding. A campaign should be launched in order to cut down wasteful expenditure. If the villages are taken as units and development is undertaken likewise, then only the development of nation can take place. The Fundamental right to information is a must. So long as this is not ensured, corruption can not be curbed.

My last suggestion is that some Members have raised the issue of brain drain. On the basis of my personal knowledge, I can say that 'NASA' a very prominent science centre of U.S.A. has 25% Indian scientists on its rolls. It is true that we have made some mistakes in the past. Indians are amongst the top scientists of USA. They have not given up their citizenship. Hence such an atmosphere should be created in the country that they come back to their home land.

MR. CHAIRMAN: All right. You have made your point.

SHRI ILIYAS AZMI: East India Company looted this country for 150 years and sent the money abroad however our leaders, the bureaucracy and the businessmen have surpassed it in the matter of looting the country and sending the money abroad. Hence such a machinery should be created so that the money comes back to our country which will help us pay off our entire debt which is a cause of concern for all of us. With this, I conclude my speech and thank you.

SHRI NAVEEN PATNAIK

[English]

SHRI NAVEEN PATNAIK (Aska): Hon. Chairman, Sir, I feel privileged that I have become a Parliamentarian in the Golden Jubilee year of our Independence.

Today, after half a century of freedom, we should take stock of the situation in our nation. We can be proud of India's many achievements, and yet we must strive to rectify the failures that have occurred in our country. We should remember that our parents when they were young, had dreamt of a free nation, and that many of them struggled against the most powerful of empires to achieve that moment, which made India free.

To begin with, I would like to list some of our country's achievements. We can be proud of the fact that India produces more than five million university graduates every year. We are amongst the ten leading industrialised nations on earth. And, most important, we are self-sufficient in food.

The reverse side of this coin is that the huge increase in university graduates has not been equalled by jobs to absorb them. Large tracts of India still lack electrification and irrigation. And India's self-sufficiency in food has not been matched by reaching that food to the mouths of her hungry.

Sir, it is a matter of grave concern that even after 50 years of Independence, many people in India are not supplied with drinking water. This shortage of water is prevalent in many parts of India.

In my own Constituency of Aska in Orissa, shortage of drinking water is acute in many villages. Irrigation is lacking in large areas.

The water lifeline for the district of Ganjam in which my constituency falls, is mainly from the Rushikulya System.

which irrigates about 15 per cent of the net culturable area of the district. Besides providing irrigation water, the system also feeds drinking water to many towns and villages.

Sir, at present, this excellent system which was initiated about a century ago is choked with silt and is in a dilapidated condition due to lack of maintenance. The excuse, as usual, is scarcity of funds.

21.41 hrs.

[PROF. RITA VERMA *in the Chair*]

Madam, Ganjam has been called the Rice Bowl of Orissa, and this was made possible because of the Rushikulya System. And also, Madam, because of the renowned skill and ceaseless labour of Ganjam's farmers, this arterial system on which depends the existence of two million of the farming community, needs to be given very serious attention.

Because of the neglect of this water system, a mass of able bodied men has been forced to evacuate their homesteads. Far from Orissa they take up any work they are offered in order to provide the barest minimum needs for the families they have left behind.

This lack of water, Madam also means that disease thrives, forcing human beings to drink and bathe in the same water in which their animals drink and bathe. Stomach related illnesses flourish as do skin ailments. And lack of medical assistance or attention is a notorious subject throughout the land.

Madam, it is my earnest plea that the damage to the Rushikulya system be looked into and rectified so that a measure of agricultural productivity and material prosperity returns to my area.

In Orissa, Kalahandi, Bolangir and Koraput have been facing perennial drought. Last year, the hon. Shri H.D. Deve Gowda, the then Prime Minister of India visited the worst affected areas of Bolangir, Kalahandi and Nuapada on 14th November, 1996. The Hon. Union Minister of Agriculture, Shri Chaturanan Mishra visited these areas and on the 4th of December, he requested the National Human Rights Commission to go into the details and undertake an investigation into the reports of starvation deaths. A high level team of the National Human Rights Commission consisting amongst others, of the Secretary-General and the Inspector-General, Investigation, visited the districts of Nuapada, Kalahandi and Bolangir on the 12th, 13th and 14th December, 1996.

During the visit of the team, the Special Relief Commissioner made available to the team a list of 50 deaths which had taken place in Bolangir and five deaths in Kalahandi, allegedly because of starvation in those months. The team enquired into the cases of three deaths in Nuapada District, 13 in Bolangir District and five in Kalahandi District.

Madam, after a very detailed investigation, the team had prepared a comprehensive report. The conclusions reached by the team, Sir, should shake the conscience of the nation.

Now, Madam, I will read a part of the conclusions reached by the National Human Rights Commission Team. I quote:

> "There has been the case of Dhanbudha Majhi of village Mohulkot, Nuapada District, who according to the district authorities died due to natural causes but according to the villagers was unable to find enough to eat as his son had migrated outside, and consequently died of starvation. There is another case of Dhaneshwar Majhi of Naupada, who was working as a labourer in Raipur but had died on his way home at Khariar Road on 11th October, 1996. The Post-Mortem showed that he died due to some long ailment whereas other details in the Post-Mortem report shown to the Team indicate that nothing was found in his stomach."

Madam, the National Human Rights Commission Team finally concludes:

> "Based on the methodology as indicated in para (6) above, the Team has come to the conclusion that because of the very high level of deprivation that is prevailing in the area, extensive crop damages, malnourishment and the inadequate income levels, and an insufficient out reach of relief measures, the possibility of some of the deaths having taken place due to prolonged malnutrition and hunger compounded by disease cannot be ruled out."

Madam, the high level National Human Rights Commission Team also felt that:

> "...the famine conditions are likely to get accentuated in the area affected by drought in the coming months unless ameliorative steps are intensified immediately."

In its report prepared in February, 1997, the National Human Rights Commission Team has made very appropriate recommendations to deal with the famine situation on a war footing.

Madam, the report of the National Human Rights Commission Team was made available to the Orissa Government on the 7th March 1997. Now that almost six months have passed since this report was submitted, I would like to know what the Central Government in Delhi is doing to monitor this shocking situation, and what the State Government in Bhubaneshwar is doing to remedy this catastrophe.

Madam, a new century is knocking at the door of India. And as we enter the next millennium it should not be said of India that while she nurtured many civilisation, she cannot yet feel all her teeming millions.

With these words I thank you, Madam, for the opportunity of addressing this august House and I thank my hon. colleagues for giving me a patient hearing.

SHRI SATPAL MAHARAJ

[Translation]

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI SATPAL MAHARAJ): Madam, I am thankful to you for having given me an opportunity to place my views before this House.

So far as democracy and democratic institutions in India are concerned, they are very strong. The root of democracy in India is very deep and strong and the credit therefore goes to the people of India. On the occasion of Golden Jubilee year of our independence. I, through you, would like to convey my congratulations to the people of India on the success of democracy in our country. During the last fifty years India have come across many ups and downs but the people of India have shown that they have got great faith in democracy. Be it some external power or internal—nothing can eliminate democracy and democrative institutions in India. Inspite of communalism, casteism or regionalism and inspite of being mostly uneducated, the people of India have shown that they are very clever in exercising their rights of vote. On the occasion of this fiftieth anniversary of our independence, we extend our heartiest congratulation of the people of India. The root of democracy in India is very strong and very deep that is why it has been said, "Kuchh Bat Hai Aisi ki Hasti Mitati Nahi Hamari." India have remained and will remain an ideal secular and democratic State. Today the nation makes this commitment to our freedom fighters, who laid their lives for freedom of the country, that it will keep their values alive forever. The democratic institutions in India are functioning almost well and the judiciary have worked as a watch dog of our Constitution. Though today the judicial over activism is under criticism but if we, the Member of Lok Sabha, introspect we will find that fault is ours. If we maintain the dignity, decorum and convention of this House properly, there would be less judicial over activism. Inviting your attention towards infrastructure, I would say that there are plenty of resources in our country which we can be tapped very successfully. Our holy river Ganga originates from Himalaya and we can generate plenty of electricity by setting up turbines along the river. Likewise we can generate more power from other rivers also which would strengthen infrastructure and industry in our country. For this, we have to tap our resources and assets available in our country. Wind turbines can be set up at hills which would help power generation in substantially enhanced quantity.

Madam, India is not lagging behind in the field of solar energy. Through this source, we can generate power in our villages and remote hilly area which will enable us to meet the requirement of our villages. At sea shores, we can produce power through sea waves. Through the to-and-fro motions of cylenders, we can run generators and can generate electricity. Likewise our scientists are also by no means inferior to other scientists of the world. Given the adequate resources and opportunities, they may turn out to be the leading scientists of the world. Today, we see many Indian scientists and doctors are working in western countries and in case, they are provided with the same facilities and proper environment in India, they can certainly give a lot to the country. Like in foreign countries, particularly America, silicon valley

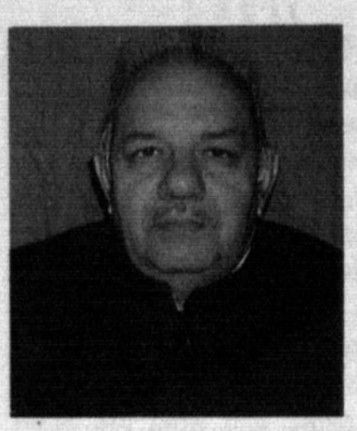
has been established for computer based research. We can also establish the same in our country and encourage our scientists and science students for computer based research. Sir, when we cast a glance at our educational system we find that inspite of widespread of education in our country and inspite of opening numerous schools. We have failed to understand as to what are the reasons that we have not been able to produce even a single Vivekanand in our country? What are the reasons as to why we have failed to produce even a single Chhatrapati Shivaji or brave Laxmi Bai in our society? The only reason therefore is that we have lost our spiritual power and the country, which has lost its spiritual power, is more or less like a dead country.

Dwelling on nationalism further, I would like to quote an example in this regard. When Swami Vivekanand once went to Japan, he met there a student in his classroom. On being asked by Vivekanand as to whom does he pray, the student proudly answered that his presiding deity was Lord Buddha. Vivekanand further asked him that in case Lord Buddha attacks his country, what would be he doing in reaction? At this face of the student became red in anger and he said infury that if Lord Buddha attacks his country, he would also retaliate with sword in his hand. Vivekanand said later that a country having such children infused with national feeling in really a fortunate one. Such a country can never become a slave to anyone. Today our country also requires this kind of nationalism. Today we need the national spirit of Mahatma Gandhi.

Madam, I would like to say that today we have to respect our past, find a solution to our present and lay down guidelines for our future. Mahatma Gandhiji used to say that face of our society will change only when humankind will change its face. If we want that our society should change and we should usher into a new era, we have to change ourselves. Change is a must. I will take no more time of this House and conclude with the following lines—

"Ravi ki Ravani Badlegi, satluj ka Muhana Badlega,
Gar shouk meinjosh raha tere,
Tasvir ka jama badlega
Bajar na ho, bejar na ho,
Yeh sara fasana badlega
Kuchh tum badlo, Kuchh ham badle,
tab to yeh jamana badlega".

Thank you for giving me an opportunity to speak.



SHRI CHAMAN LAL GUPTA

SHRI CHAMAN LAL GUPTA (Udhampur) : For the last three days this House has been continuously discussing the achievements and failures of the country during the last fifty years after independence. Our leaders have discussed here the problem and challenges before the nation and solutions to them. I come from Kashmir and I feel that at present Kashmir problem is quite grave. This debate will remain incomplete if no mention is made this problem.

During last 50 years Pakistan has attacked Kashmir thrice. First attack was in 1947. I pay my tributes to brave soldiers like Brigadier Rajinder Singh, Brigadier Usman, Shervani and others who fought this battle with a few soldiers. Madam, Pakistan is continuously trying to attack on unity and integrity of the country. This is the reason why it is attacking Kashmir time and again. In the booklet, which has been circulated among us, a mention has been made that around 10 thousand persons have been killed there so far due to violence. I would like to add some more points in it.

Even today four lakh Kashmiri people are wandering here and there for shelter as they were forced to leave their ancestral homes. A number of women were molested children were made orphan and parents made helpless in this violence. A strange situation is prevailing. On the one hand Pakistan is attacking Kashmir time and again, sending arms and air for militants and imparting training to them but on the other hand our country is holding secretary level talks to sign a peace-treaty.

22.00 hrs.

Hon. Prime Minister visited Kashmir a few days back. In his speech he asked the militants that he was willing to hold unconditional talks with them. The Chief Minister of the state is saying that no talks will be held with militants till they lay their arms. We should be alert against these contradictions. Our sisters in this House are fighting for

their rights but in Kashmir, situation is totally different, if a Kashmiri girl looses all her rights so far as the state of Jammu and Kashmir is concerned, if she marries a youth from Delhi whereas the youth of Kashmir is not deprived of such rights if he marries a girl of Punjab. This type of fundamental discrimination or disparity is seen in Kashmir and our constitution is unable to avoid such anomalies. The people of Jammu who are living there for more than fifty years are deprived of the right to vote in assembly elections. What are the reasons for it? Pakistan has attacked thrice on Kashmir and this is the fourth war. We would have to ponder over it. It is not sufficient to say that Kashmir is an integral part of our country. These militants have revolted against the country. Hon. Prime Minister has visited Srinagar twice. First time he had gone there with an offer of a project amounting to Rs. 2500 crore and secondly he attended whips conference there and both the time the whole valley observed strike. Whether reasons behind such incidents should not be analysed? I would like to make a submission that the hurdle of Article 370 between this country and Kashmir should be removed so that it could become an integral part of the country actually otherwise such discussions will remain futile like earlier discussions.

Madam, I would like to make a submission. On 15th August the whole country-celebrated the Golden Jubilee of Independence. In Laddakh two functions were organised for celebrating golden jubilee of independence. One function was organised by autonomous council whereas the second function was presided over by the Minister, Shri Ajatshatru. Regional differences have grown to such an extent that we cannot celebrate even national functions together. The Government talks about providing autonomy to the state. I would like to know as to what type of autonomy could be that? As per the provision of Article 370 the law enacted in Parliament are not applicable to that region. What more can be done? I would like to make a submission that Kashmir problem is actually somewhat different. Today Laddakh is demanding for a union territory status. Jammu is raising demand to be merged totally with India and sacrifice of Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee is a milestone in it. There is separatism in Kashmir and for it we have given suggestion to set up regional councils in all the three regions. The funds allocated for it should be spent in such a manner so that none of the three regions is dissatisfied and the prevalent regional tension is eased somehow. Madam Chairperson as I said that my topic was education. In this regard, I would like to say that I raised the Kashmir issue only because I felt that this discussion will remain incomplete without the mention of Kashmir issue. I will make only one point and then resume my seat. In the First Plan, we had incurred an expenditure of Rs. 153 crore on education. We spent Rs. 19,600 crore in the Eighth Plan. It means that 1.2 per cent expenditure was incurred in the First Plan and 3.9 per cent expenditure was incurred in the Eighth Plan. The 1951 census reveals that there are two million illiterate people in the country and the world Bank report states that the goal of universalization of education will be achieved three decades after the same is achieved by Korea. Whereas Article 45 was included in the Constitution wherein it was declared that we will achieve the goal of universalization of education in the country in ten years. I will quote Swami Vivekanand before resuming my seat. He had said.

[English]

> "The essence of education is concentration of mind. Education is not the amount of information that is put into your brain and runs riot there, undigested all your life we must have life-building man-making character and making assimilation of ideas."

[Translation]

He has also stated that—

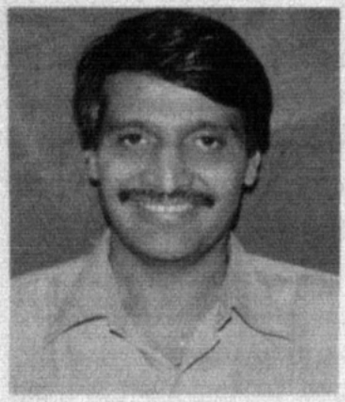
[English]

> "So long as millions live in hunger and ignorance, I hold every man a traitor who, having been educated at their expense, pays not the least heed to them."

[Translation]

Madam Chairperson, this is my submission. I have quoted Vivekanand because the concept regarding the basic education and the present infrastructure is the same as was laid down by Macaulay and it is still being followed. So long as the spiritual spirit and the issues concerned with the nation are not included in the education system and it is not firmly rooted in the soil of this country, the level of education wouldn't go up. Absent the schools and universities, I would like to submit that there were 50 universities in 1950-57 and today the number of universities has arisen to 207. Even after spending all this money, we should also set up such an excellent universities as Nalanda and Takshashila which were frequented by students from all over the world. Similarly we should fix same standards

and criterion regarding universities that if 15 or say 10 universities are taken up during a year, even one such university should be there which become famous throughout the world as a study centre. So long as we do not make any such efforts our dream that India attains the status of 'Jagat Guru' (world teacher) and the entire world comes to India for learning, will never be fulfilled. This is my submission.



SHRI SURESH PRABHU

[English]

SHRI SURESH PRABHU (Rajapur) : Thank you, Madam. We have been debating this issue for almost three days now and, I must say, also three nights by now when I am called upon to speak. It is not a coincidence that we are discussing the Special Session during the night part of the day also because when we started our Independence, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, our the then Prime Minister said that he wanted the country to redeem its pladge with destiny. That was also midnight of 1947. But probably that midnight was thrilled with a lot of hope though we had several problems. In 1997, when we are meeting after 50 years, we again have a lot of problems but very little hopes. That is the difference. When we got Independence, since the hope was there, we thought that all the problems would be solved because we had got Independence. But after 1997, when we are dawning into this new era of 50 years, we feel that our problems are yet to be solved. Not only that we have to solve them but they are really worse compounded in different forms.

The general deterioration that we see is all pervasive. Just to take an example, in 1947 our neighbouring country, Sri Lanka, a very small island, was not even playing Test Cricket. But in 1997, they have taken a great pride in saying that they have not only defeated India but scored so many runs in the Test Cricket against India. So, this general deterioration really makes us to introspect and to find out what really has gone wrong and where we have gone wrong.

When we try to compare certain indices relating to human live with those of not only our neighbouring countries in Asia but also with those of some sub-Saharan countries, we have really not progressed on that count. In fact, the *Time* magazine, which recently came out with a special issue to commemorate India's fifty years of Independence, has given some startling facts about these human life indices. We have really not gone ahead. In that period, certain sub-Saharan countries have progressed better than India. Here, we have deteriorated in those areas also.

The net result of all this is that our youth is feeling really frustrated. They thought all these years that changing one political party and voting for another was a solution to the problems that the country was facing. We have tried alternatives but the problems are not yet solved. It is a very dangerous trend that we are witnessing now. Many youths are now turning to so-called *mafia* only with the hope that justice will be dispensed with not by the system that we thought was a democratic one but now this system will give the justice that we are really looking for.

This is the time to really draw the balance-sheet of the country. I think, we really have more liabilities on the side of liabilities than the assets though I am not saying that the side of our assets is totally blank. One of the points that we should really ponder over is the heavy debt burden that our country is having. When we became independent, we were not having many assets on our balance-sheet but, of course, our debt also was not substantial. But today, we have got a very burgeoning figure of $92 billion of foreign debt and also more than Rs. 3,64,000 crore of domestic debt which is really a daunting figure. So, every new Indian who is born, is born with a debt on his head. Now he says, "I am born in free India but with a debt on my shoulder which I have to carry for the next generation to follow."

The debt burden is also putting a tremendous strain on the interest that the country has to pay. In the current year, we are going to pay 103.9 per cent of our fiscal deficit on account of the interest. So, we are now borrowing the entire amount or more than what we are really paying as interest is being borrowed by the Government. So, the only amount that we borrow is to pay the interest which really is a very very serious matter.

On the other side, a very startling and very worrying points is that 30 per cent of our population in the higher income bracket is consuming more than 53 per cent of our private consumption expenditure and the lower 30 per cent is lonely able to get not more than 42 per cent. So, this is something which, I think, is very startling. This is what we have got in the last 50 years of Independence.

Any other sector should have made us happy. But even in the case of health, it is the same story. We thought that we have mastered the diseases or we have conquered the diseases. But those old diseases, which we thought we have conquered, are rearing their heads in the 50th year of Independence. It is again a very worrying trend.

Education is providing us degrees but not jobs. It is a useless knowledge but not enlightenment. On that front also, the situation is very dismal.

Madam, we always take pride in saying that we have got the second largest trained manpower in the world in India and it is a very great pool of resource which is available to us. But this huge resource is unemployed to a great extent. It is trying to find jobs. It is trying to use the reactivity to build up the country. But its hands are not getting enough opportunities. This is the sorry state of affairs in the 50th year of our Independence!

I was very happy when my esteemed colleague sitting on the Treasury Benches was talking. He was saying that this is the time to solve several problems. I come from the State of Maharashtra. I was not so fortunate to be born before Independence to see the Independence coming. I represent a generation which was born after Independence. Our generation was always waiting for solutions to certain problems.

I will just take a small example to say how certain problems pending for several decades have not been solved. Our friend from Karnataka was talking about linking rivers which, he says, is very important. I am going to highlight it. But I would like to pose a question here. Why do we not link the borders as well? Why do we not link the territory for the people who want to be with a particular State which they feel is their own State? The border dispute between the State of Maharashtra and the State of Karnataka could not be resolved for the past fifty years. If we cannot solve a small problem like this, I do not know how we are going to be in a world which is borderless. We say that the world is emerging into a global village. But a few villages on that side of the border which are aspiring to be with a State of their own choice are not allowed that opportunity. We should ask ourselves as to what type of solutions could be found in the last fifty years.

One of the points that we should always realise and remember is our culture. Before I proceed further, I must really emphasise on one thing. It has been highlighted by many of my esteemed colleagues in this very House and I am very happy about it. We cannot be a rootless society. We cannot be a society without roots. We must not and cannot forget it. Everybody, including our former Prime Minister while talking today for a very good amount of time, was referring to our ancient culture. I am very happy that while we are looking into the future, we have not yet forgotten our past. Let us not forget our culture, or let us not use it only as a debating point when we takl in Parliament. All our national policies, and the entire polity should be based on this ancient culture. If we forget it by saying 'past is past', the future is not going to forgive us because the future is again going to become the past.

I was very happy when our hon. Speaker gave a call for a second freedom struggle. Talking about the freedom struggle, we were all united before 1947. I do not think we were divided like this then. There was no need to make a demarcation among different parties, different people, different creeds and different cultures then because we had one common objective. We had one common objective of attaining Independence.

Again in 1962, when our borders were threatened, when there was an aggression by our so-called friend, we were united. The same thing had happened in 1965 and 1971 when we stood together. So, during the freedom struggle, or when there was a war, we always believed that we cannot fight it unless we were united. When the hon. Speaker, gives a call from the Chair for a second freedom struggle, are we again willing to do so? Are we again prepared to forget the differences and join hands to win this struggle of freedom and the ills, which he has already reported? I do not want to repeat them because I feel that they are already on the national agenda now, since he has highlighted them.

Can we think about the unity of this country and set war goals? When we go to fight a war, we always set war goals. When we went to war in 1971, the then Prime Minister, Shrimati Gandhi, had also set war goals that the refugees who came across the border must go back and the people of Bangladesh should be given freedom. The war goals that we would like to set now are the things which will determine as to how and to what extent we will go ahead and succeed in this new war of the second freedom struggle.

Madam, we all have noticed one very interesting phenomenon. There are my very good and esteemed friends from Kerala who would bear me out when I say this. When an Indian goes abroad, he succeeds; and when the same person comes back to India, he is branded as an unsuccessful person. Why cannot we introspect on this today? Why cannot we try to find out the answer to this

problem? Why does a person succeed outside the country but cannot really perform in his own country?

What is wrong? A person who can man the NASA operation comes back and tries to work in ISRO and finds it difficult to get a job. We must all try to find out as to what is wrong with our system.

I think that the common man has the will to win this freedom struggle. What he really needs is the strength and the strength must come from the Government, from this Parliament and from all of us. If he is given this strength, I think with his will power and with his clearly set war goals which I think the hon. Speaker has aptly highlighted–he should really be able to win this war.

I always wonder, whether we cannot keep certain things as something on which we never debate, we never deliberate? We can always deliberate. Once we agree, we will not be able to tamper with it. We have got a good example that the basic structure of the Constitution cannot be tampered with. The highest court in the country, the Supreme Court had always said on many occasions that the basic structure cannot be touched upon even by Parliament. Can we not set certain issues like population–which has been highlighted in terms of education and in terms of economic policy? Can we not determine and define certain common objectives which are once agreed and once debated upon, and which can always form part of the common consensus? This is something which we must try to deal with in today's Session, the Session which is supposed to be ending tomorrow. If you fail to do it, even if you want to fight this war, the goals will not be properly defined and having defined the goals, if you do not focus ourselves on that properly, we will not be able to really get what we want. Let me quickly go through what I feel should also be part of the national agenda as I know the limitation of time.

Maybe I am trying not to redefine, but I am trying to explain what has already been said by the hon. Speaker as well as veteran Parliamentarians, like the Leader of the Opposition, Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee. One of the things on which we must try to work hard is to reduce the cost of administration. Whatever new schemes are launched, whatever new ideas are generated, the cost of administering it is becoming so heavy. New States have been created; the bureaucracy is increasing; the Government's size is increasing; and as a result of which the administrative costs are increasing. The fruits of the programmes which we are implementing are not reaching the common man. I think, we should really have this as one of the points.

I disagree with my friend from Karnataka, who is not present now in the House when he talked about the border dispute. I would like to share one of the very important points that he said to commemorate the occasion of the 50th year of Independence. What do we have? We can come out with a souvenir. We have been presented with a good memento by the hon. Speaker. Can this only be the commemoration item for the country? Can we not think about the national project which can be remembered for another hundred years?

When we go to China we see the Great Wall of China. This Great Wall of China defended China in the ancient times. We do not know any walls because we are trying to break many. What we really need is to create a linkage of all the rivers in the country and try to use this as one of the symbols of national integration as well as the symbol to commemorate the 50th year of Independence. Can we adopt the resolution in a time-bound programme and create this project as a National project? Imagine the number of jobs that would be created as a result of this. Today only 30 per cent of the land is irrigated and with that 30 per cent of the land, we somehow try to provide food to millions of people who are born every day. Can we not think about creating new jobs and irrigation land, which also will provide food for so many new generations, which are going to born in the next few years?

Is it also not time to find out in the last 50 years how much money had been spent on flood relief in Assam as also on drought relief in Rajasthan? Can we not use this pool of money that we have wasted in the last 50 years to create this new national project? It will also serve as the biggest river way, and also stop migration of population from towns to cities and from villages to cities.

Another important point which I think all of us must somehow deliberate upon is to try to remember that in our Constitution we have provided for separation of powers between the three different organs of State, the Legislature, the Judiciary and the Executive.

Madam, this separation of power was necessary as a counterbalance factor to ensure that no single organ exert power. As a result of this, we have seen that the legislation is passed by Parliament and executed in a different fashion by the Executive and the judiciary tries to interpret in a different manner. Can there not be unity of action by these three different organs through which we can solve the national problems? We can take several examples in which some well-meaning decisions could not be implemented, could not ultimately stand the test of law, only because all the three organs could not come together. If in 1947 we went in for the separation of power between these three different organs, in 1997, can we not think about unity of

action between these three different organs so that ultimately all the three organs try to serve the common man whose benefit all these three organs are supposed to operate and not as a sort of counterbalance to defeat each other and try to find fault with each other's action.

[Translation]

SHRI MOHAN SINGH (Ferozepur) : Madam, please take care of back-benchars also...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : I am taking care of all the members.

[English]

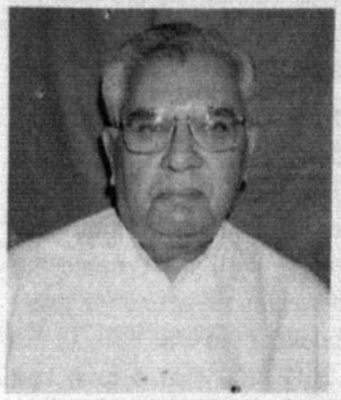
SHRI SURESH PRABHU : We should also try to rationalise the multiplicity of laws that we have got. If a person wants to start a business, he has to cope with may be not less than 100 laws of different types. Can we not think of, for example, a commercial law which encompasses all the different laws. If a labourer really want to fight his case, he has to cop with all the laws. Those laws could be clubbed together and also in that fashion, we can really try to reduce the multiplicity of laws. For a citizen who is really law-abiding, he can always use one single book of law, encompassing all the similar laws. He can always use it for the purpose of finding out how he can really follow this law.

MR. CHAIRMAN : You have already spoken for 15 minutes.

SHRI SURESH PRABHU : Madam, I would try to wind up.

I am also tempted to use a small anecdote of Swami Vivekananda. My previous Speaker also used it before winding up his speech.

Our great leader at that time, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said that he wanted to redeem the tryst with destiny. Our destiny has really brought us to this stage after 50 years. But now, if at all, we want to make a tryst, it is time to make a tryst with *karma.* It is time to use our entire workforce, our entire thinking power, all the resources available at our command to make our nation a powerful nation and to make people what they really worth of and not to leave them languishing in poverty. For that we have to use *karma* as our real focal point. Madam, when we always talk about "*karma,* people say, *Karma* makes a person who wants to really work, not to use his energy because it believes what is there in the destiny." Swami Vivekananda was once asked: If in Hindu methology or philosophy you believe that *karma* takes you to where you are supposed to be going, then why should anybody work? He gave a small example. He said, "There is a sheep which is grazing on the ground. Its neck is tied with a tree through a long rope. If the sheep feels that its neck is already tied with the rope and cannot do anything, it can just try to eat grass maybe one foot from where it is sitting. But if it tries to get up, it can reach to a great extent and try to reach much more grass but cannot go out of the ground because its neck is already tied. But it can go to a longer distance, to the extent to which the rope allows it to go." That is what we have to discover in this 50th year of Independence. Our talent, our resources, how long it can take us, we have still not realised them. So, this is not the time to make a tryst with destiny but to make a tryst with *karma.*



SHRI SANAT MEHTA

SHRI SANAT MEHTA (Surendra Nagar) : Madam Chairperson, I would not have insisted on speaking because time is short and I did not want to take the time of this House. But, Madam, it is an emotional issue or me, that is why I want to speak. When in 1942 I was only 15 years old boy, I travelled from my place to hear the leaders on the 9th August meeting of the AICC at Gwalior. I heard the leaders and then I never went back to my house. I joined the Freedom Movement on 1942 and as per the orders of the leaders I did not get myself arrested but I went underground and after four years I could go back to my house. At that time, I never thought that after fifty years when this Celebration would be taking place, I would be able to speak in this august House. That is why I insisted on speaking in spite of my bad health. I sat for long hours waiting for my turn to speak.

To my mind, there are only two important questions. One is economy and the other is human resource development. There are many problems. Many of my friends have said that we have not done anything, many friends have said that we have achieved many thing. We have achieved many things. Our life span has increased.

I can never forget when I was a young school boy. During the Bengal famine, 20 lakh people died. I can never forget the famine of China where more than two crore people died. At that time, as a young man I felt how India would come out of this disaster.

We have seen a photograph in *The Times of India* of a dead mother on the footpath of Calcutta and a small child was sucking her breast in the hope that some milk will come out of it. We have witnessed that kind of a scene. Many of the young boys and many of my colleagues who are born after 1947 cannot imagine that that kind of a famine has inflicted India and China.

But my worry today is that China came out of the famine and we also came out of the famine. As far as agricultural production is concerned, both China and India has become self-sufficient. But on many other scenarios, we are lagging far behind.

If we look at the history of our economic development, we had a long travel from the Central Planning which was a necessity at that time. Creation of public sector units was a necessity at that time because not private sector was ready to come in those areas where we have created the public sector. Before six years there was an economic crisis and out of that sheer economic crisis, there was no way out so we accepted liberalisation. But I feel that a time has come in this country to think about the form of liberalisation which India will have to accept.

Let us be very clear that liberalisation everywhere is not the same and let us not forget that the kind of the globalisation which is inflicting many of the pains on the economy of India is also inflicting on the economy of the development.

Before a few days, a Managing Director of World Economic Forum came to this country. I spoke before the house of industrialists. This is not our opinion but his words. I am quoting this opinion because a climate has been created in this country that by simply accepting liberalisation all problems will be solved.

Day in and day out, my respectful Finance Minister is speaking that once India achieves the growth rate of seven per cent and plus, the issue of poverty will automatically be resolved. Here are the words. What is the experience of this kind of globalisation and liberalisation in the developed economy? Mr. Claud who is the Managing Director of World Economic Forum spoke before the Confederation of Indian Industry in Delhi. These are his words. "In the globalised economy, there is no security of anything." He says it very clearly. Then he says, "You can have high quality of technology and low wages. Therefore, people feel completely disoriented and there is increasing backlash against the liberalisation". This is the kind of backlash that is coming in the developed economy.

We are a large country. We have a large number of people living below the poverty line. Perhaps, out of the total people living below poverty line in the world, almost 50 per cent are in India.

At this time, if we will copy liberalisation and if we will accept that all foreign capital will resolve our problem, then, I think we are mistaken. So I feel a dialogue is necessary in this country. Let nobody dictate the kind of liberalisation which is being praised either by the present Finance Minister or by the former Finance Minister. Let there be a debate.

In China, there is liberalisation but it is altogether different. In many other countries, there is liberalisation and globalisation. But they look and they tell and China has said that we will embrace the whole world. We will invite foreign capital from all over the world but we will keep our soul intact. That kind of a guide we have to create and then have a debate on the liberalisation as to what extent in what areas liberalisation should be allowed and permitted. It requires a national debate.

Yesterday, in the Standing Committee on Industry, Shri Ashok Mitra the Chairman of the Committee had invited the leaders of the industry. Shri Keshav Mahendra was there and many others including Shri Thapar were there. We asked them what was their opinion. I asked them a blind question: "Now you are complaining about liberalisation. You people had said that this was a dream budget. Why are you so unhappy?" They all said that they had accepted that kind of liberalisation and that they are still supporting it. They said, "But a need has arisen today to think about the speed of the liberalisation, the areas of the liberalisation". Open hand liberalisation is now not even acceptable to the people who have called the last Budget as a dream Budget when they have commended that kind of liberalisation. That is the situation. What is happening? The House of Arvind Mafatlal, one of the strongest industrial houses in Mumbai is collapsing. It is not only collapsing but it is one of the major units of Gujarat Gas. In Gujarat, it was created for distribution of gas all over Gujarat. It was a joint company between Arvind Mafatlal and Gujarat Government. Gujarat Government preferred Arvind Mafatlal House because it thought that that was the strongest House in Mumbai.

A time came when Mafatlal House had sold all its shares to British Gas. One of the basic infrastructure companies has gone into the hands of the multinationals. Is it not necessary to think over this problem? If Mafatlal House can collapse, many other House can also collapse. The kind of open hand liberalisation needs in this country reconsideration, a deep in-depth examination.

I am not opposed to liberalisation. I was the Chairman of the Finance Commission of Gujarat and I have recommended in many areas liberalisation. But what I am witnessing today in open hand liberalisation is, no *roke-toke*. It is going to give you everything. If we are going to follow this, I think it will do more harm to the poor people about whom everybody has talked. About 90 per cent of the people will be harmed.

So, there is no difference of opinion. Let us have a discussion. Shri Jaswant Singh also believes in liberalisation; Dr. Manmohan Singh also believes in liberalisation; Shri P. Chidambaram also believes in liberalisation. But how much liberalisation is required? Where should we do it and where should we not do it? So, a debate is required. When we are completing the 50 years of freedom, let us have a debate. It was all right that before six years we accepted it because there was no way out and our economy would have been saved by that way.

The second and the last point which I want to make is regarding the Human Resource Development. Many of my friends in the House have shown deep anxiety about the state of education; about the primary education; about the drop outs; about the school buildings; and about the lack of teachers. Why have we failed there? If I refer to some of the statistics, then the House will be shocked. What is it indicating? Take for example the literacy. As far as India is concerned, the literacy of females is 39 per cent and males 64 per cent; Rajasthan it is females 20 per cent and males 55 per cent; Bihar it is females 23 per cent and males 52 per cent. However, please see the area of blackspots. In Barmer of Rajasthan, it is eight per cent in women and 37 per cent in males; Kishanganj in Bihar, it is 10 per cent in women and 33 per cent in males; in Bahraich in Uttar Pradesh, it is 11 per cent in women and 36 per cent in males. Do we know that these figures are even lower than those in Sub-Saharan African countries? It is lower than in Sieria Leone; it is lower than in Burkina Faso. Why?

Is it because that we have no resources? If the literacy could come only because of resources, then per capita domestic product of Haryana and Punjab is much higher than that of Kerala. But the rate of literacy and elementary education in Kerala is higher than even some of the advanced countries of the world. It is proved that simply resources, simply higher income and simply higher rate of growth of per capita income will automatically not bring up the literacy rate. We made a mistake at one place. All in our planning, we thought that poverty is something different; we thought that literacy and elementary education are something different from economy. So, anybody who was looking after the economy, he only looked after the economy and not the Human Resource Development. Can you imagine that this country want to achieve one hundred per cent literacy for the children?

The detailed calculations have shown that the country will require Rs. 27,000 crore. If I quote the figures of different States, it will show that there are some States which will never be able to achieve it on their own. Take for example Madhya Pradesh. If we want to achieve one hundred per cent literacy in Madhya Pradesh in the next five years, we will require Rs. 2,431 crore in five years. It means that Madhya Pradesh will have to provide Rs. 300 crores only for elementary education, which is not possible for the State alone. If you look to the requirements of Rajasthan, Rs. 1,697 crore is required; Uttar Pradesh requires Rs. 5,314 crore in five years. It means thousands and crores of rupees every year are required. From where is this money going to come?

My dear friend, Shri Suresh Prabhu has talked about having some unanimity on some issues.

Here is an issue. Can this House, at the end of the debate tomorrow, with all the leaders of the different political parties, including the Prime Minister and the Finance Minister resolve that anyhow, from any manner, we will create these Rs. 20,000 crore and see that elementary education is provided to every child, boy or girl, in this country? If we cannot take this decision, let me tell you ...*(Interruptions)* Madam, I will take two or three minutes more. I have taken very much less time than many of the Members.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Shri Mehta, you have spoken for 15 minutes.

[Translation]

SHRI SANAT MEHTA : I will never speak. All right. I am concluding if you say so.

MR. CHAIRMAN : It is my signal that you should conclude now. Why are you getting annoyed?

[English]

SHRI SANAT MEHTA : I am watching from the morning. I have not even come there to enquire whether my name is there or not.

[Translation]

MR. CHAIRMAN : I have only mentioned that you have taken fifteen minutes.

[English]

SHRI SANAT MEHTA : I am now concluding. Anybody could have recognised from my speech that I was almost at the end of my speech.

Can this House decide it in unanimity? I am appealing to Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee to take the lead. In the morning, when Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao spoke, I wrote him a note because he talked of technology. I said technology can be evolved. There are people in this country who can provide this technology. In Gujarat itself we are making an effort that *Ambarcharkha*, with power, can be converted into such a kind of *Ambarcharkha* that Rs. 60 to Rs. 70 per day can be provided to an individual sitting in his house. But nobody takes the lead.

There is a Gandhian league educationist in Gujarat. He is a born-Gandhian. His name is Shri Manubhai Pancholi who got many prizes. Once he addressed to *khadi* workers. Do you know what he said? Shri Manubhai Pancholi told the *Khadi* workers : 'You are the widows of Mahatma Gandhi; because you are not able to change'. Shri Manubhai said: 'You are accepting polyester in *Khadi*: but not power'. He said: 'You know the history of the technology. Polyster came much after power in the world technology. You are accepting something which came recently and you are not accepting power'.

Technology is possible. We can provide employment. But if we are going to go mad after the bid industries as we are doing after the liberalisation it will not do. In my State, Gujarat, maximum industrialisation has taken place. Every industrialist considers that Gujarat is heaven. But at the end of the development, what is the picture? We have developed two corridors. We have one corridor which all the economists in the country name it as "Golden Corridor". It is from Ahmedabad to Wapi, Sixty per cent of the industrial production comes out of that corridor. I have a corridor for which I am struggling. It is the poverty corridor. It is our eastern belt of the tribal people. We are talking of tribal people. But how many of us are ready to re-examine it? When the Eighth Plan Working Group was formed and when they were asked to examine the Tribal Sub-Plan they very clearly said that the time has come that the Tribal Sub-Plan needs a total change. We are not attacking the problem from the root. We are worrying about the insurgency in the tribal people. We are worrying about other things of the tribal people.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Shri Mehta, how much more time you need?

SHRI SANAT MEHTA : My appeal is that we may have debate on the kind of liberalisation that India wants and secondly let us commit Rs. 27,000 crore in the next five years. That should at least be one decision we can take. If we go out of this House tomorrow with that decision, everybody in the country would feel that there was a Parliament in 1997 which celebrated the fiftieth year of freedom and gave us knowledge and empowerment of the poor.

Without education and without literacy we cannot empower the poor. It is the only empowerment of the poor.

I remember that in India International Centre, when Shri Bordia who was the Education Secretary was there along with an American expert, the American expert criticised that in India there was a lobby of educated which wants to keep the people uneducated and that is a conspiracy in India. I heard these comments ten years ago.

I appeal to this House. Only Shri Atal Bihar Vajpayee is here. I appeal him. Let us exert all our pressure for allocation of Rs. 27,000 crore.

I tell you one education is there, even the income of a landless labourers will automatically increase because he will know how much money he is entitled to and how much money he will get.

Madam, I am sorry that I have taken a little more time. But this was an emotional issue for my life. That is why, I have spoken today. Otherwise, I am not fond of speaking.

SHRI NEIL ALOYSIUS O'BRIEN

SHRI NEIL ALOYSIUS O'BRIEN (Nominated) : Madam Chairperson, the only assurance I can give you is that I shall keep to the time limit or a minute or two over.

I was not yet in my teens when India gained Independence. It is, therefore, for me a personal dream, an undreamt honour to be able to speak as a part of this august body on the 50th Anniversary of India's Independence, as a voice of the Anglo-Indian community.

A microscopic community in the total population of India, the Anglo-Indian community has flown in the teeth of history.

As colonialism disappeared from Asia so did people of mixed descent as a distinctive identity from the political and social scene. It is only in India that such a community continues to exist as a recognisable entity in the country's polity.

Fifty years ago, the community could well have disappeared from the pages of Indian history. They had been the standard bearers of the British and were, therefore, open to distrust and hostility by the forces of Indian nationalism. Thousands left the country fearing no future for themselves in the new India. But many stayed—out of choice - a choice that formed the foundation of a new patriotic development within the community who found in India's new leaders a feeling of sensitivity and amity. Anglo-Indian leaders even joined in the framing of the Constitution.

The record in the post-independence India has been one of distinguished service, particularly in the Armed Forces and the sports area. We are talking now about emancipation of women. May I remind this House that the Anglo-Indian women blazed a trail in women's emancipation—a pioneer among women in the workplace. They were carrying out duties in commercial organisations, nursing, teaching and in the airlines when few women ventured out to work and even in jobs which were them looked upon with a certain social stigma. Indeed, the Anglo-Indian women have long worked alongside man their, giving great strength to them.

But perhaps, the Community's greatest contribution to the country has been in education and in its schools. Historically, the schools have been with the community and Christian denominations, but today they are open to students of all backgrounds. The ethos of these schools is no longer a guarded monopoly. It is a value system independent of religious and communal alliances.

In his opening speech, the hon. Speaker remarked "Education should be relevant to the world of work." Total education rests on four pillars. In order to support the roof, the pillars must be of equal size and strength. What are these four pillars? In no particular order, the first is 'academics' or the acquiring of knowledge which itself is self-evident. The second is 'concepts', the ability to think, to discern, to judge and not just to learn by rote. The third one is skills which take several forms whether they be in the modern way of computers, sports, art music or vocational training and a vast range which needs to be identified and nurtured in the different fields at the school stage.

Finally, values which seem to have been so much forgotten...

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude.

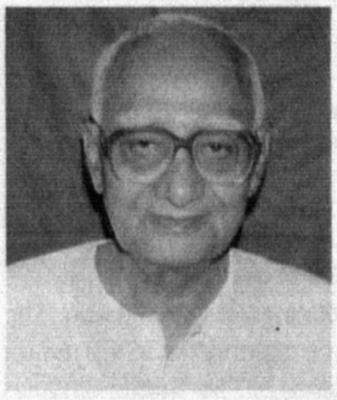
SHRI NEIL ALOYSIUS O'BRIEN : I had timed my speech before coming.

MR. CHAIRMAN : It is very nice of you.

SHRI NEIL ALOYSIUS O'BRIEN : I will conclude by just saying two points in a minute and a half.

I am often asked whether our community has been assimilated in the mainstream. My reply is a question: "What is the mainstream?" The Indian fabric is woven with the threads of many languages, religions, cultures, some large and some small. Ours is one small piece in the great mosaic that is India.

Assimilation is not submergence and in fifty years of Independence, despite many vicissitudes, we have sustained secular democracy in which the majority and all the minorities have strived to come to terms with the diversity, that is India. Indianness is not identified with any particular group, language, dress, religion or habits. Thank you Madam I am sorry if I have exceeded your time. May be, my idea of time is something like Einstein's relativity.



SHRI MANABENDRA SHAH

SHRI MANABENDRA SHAH (Tehri-Garhwal) : The Approach paper that has been given by the Planning Commission confesses that the Eighth Five Year Plan has not succeeded as it should have been. They have said in the Working Paper that the adverse economic condition either got created by our policy or by causes beyond anyone's control. Therefore, they say, it has brought about the resource crunch.

[Translation]

I admit it, I will not dwell more on it but I would like to say something about its other aspect *i.e.* the index are formed on all India basis and these indexes do not reflect the real position.

India is a vast country and there is disparity among States and regions and we cannot ignore the disparity as

we take the average index of the country as a whole. If they want to make Ninth Five Year Plan successful the index of different regions will have to be made separately and we will have to remove the bottlenecks of different regions which come in the way of their solutions only then the Ninth Five Year Plan can be made successful.

Besides, even if I agree that the index is correctly made, nevertheless we have to keep in mind that we have made three categories Aregious *i.e.* prosperous, semi-prosperous and below poverty line. I do not doubt about our pace of development but the gap among prosperous, semi-prosperous and below poverty line regions has been there and that is not being bridged and it remains persistent. Unless the gap is abridged, real progress can not be made. Therefore, I would like to submit that regional planning should be made by the Planning Commission and plans for below poverty line regions are to be made rapidly, only then all regions will progress on equal footing. So long as this recourse is not taken, the gap will continue to increase and the disparity will not be removed, despite our planning. I would not like to cite more example. However, I will cite one example and that is the judgement of the High Court and the Supreme Court.

23.00 hrs.

It will be clear from that the plans which are being made are not being made on sound footing.

[English]

The High Court quoted the Supreme Court in the matter of reservation in educational institutions of Uttarakhand. The Court quoted the Supreme Court's observation in the matter of State of U.P. *Vs.* Pradeep Tandon. The Supreme Court observed:

> "When effective territorial specialisation is not possible in the absence of means of communication and technical process as in the hill and Uttrakhand areas, the people are socially backward classes of citizens. Neglected opportunities and people in remote places raise wells of social backwardness of people.
>
> The hill and Uttrakhand areas are inaccessible. There is lack of educational institutions and educational aids. People in the hill and Uttrakhand areas illustrate the educationally backward classes of citizens because lack of educational facilities keep them stagnant and they have neither meaning and values nor awareness for education."

The High Court concluded its judgement by ordering restoration of the position in the divisions of Garhwal and Kumaun as it was before the issue of the notification dated 20th July, 1994.

Subsequently the Court passed another judgement by which the U.P. hill people got entitled to 27 per cent SC quota.

The Supreme Court held that the residents of Uttrakhand and hill regions in Uttar Pradesh be treated as socially and educationally backward classes of citizens.

[Translation]

I am quoting it because it proves that the regional imbalance was not kept in view while formulating the Eighth Five Year Plan. So it should be kept in view while formulating the Ninth Five Year Plan. Besides, environment is adversely affected as it is not safe even in the hills. Forests have an important bearing on the environment in the Himalayan region. The residents also make an important contribution to it. If there will no forests, we will have no work. Let me excused for saying that be it the Central Government or the State Government or the Courts, all are obsessed with environment phobia.

23.02 hrs.

[SHRIMATI GEETA MUKHERJEE *in the Chair*]

As a result of which several schemes in the region have been stopped, be it the scheme of road construction, or digging of canals or providing drinking water or for that matter environmental schemes etc. All these schemes have failed. For example, I want to say about Tehri-Garhwal. Previously, it was a princely state. Its one-third area is snowclad and other one-third is forests and the remaining one-third is habitation. It means its two-thirds area is forest, even then there is ban on cutting of trees in forests in the name of environment protection, as a result of it all our schemes have been stopped. We shall have to cut the trees of the forest for making roads. If we want to implement schemes of development, we have to relax the rules regarding ban on cutting of trees in forest. At the same time, forest will have to be preserved. Then only we will get rid of poverty otherwise not.

I want to give an example. There is a rule that if you are cutting forest for construction of roads, then you will have to grow trees somewhere. When Tehri Dam was under construction and the ghats of Ganga and Bhilgena were submerged under water, trees were grown in Jhansi. It is a strange thing that trees are cut somewhere and grown somewhere else. Therefore, this rule should be amended that the trees should be planted in the district in which the trees have been cut.

In our area, there is habitation in one-third area and the remaining two-third area is forests. They say that trees should be grown in the area where there is population. Should we displace our village population and grow trees on the land? If we will grow trees, then we will not set up hospital or implement our schemes. There will be forest and forest only. We are unable to understand the thinking of the Government. The only thing is this that the work should be done properly. There should be some balance approach in regard to forests and the schemes. Both should not be mixed. You have mixed the both, it has fatal result and you will have to think on it. Our rights are affecting due to forests. When Tehri-Garhwal was a princely state, wood was given free of cost, trees were given at cheaper rates and there was permission to cut grass for the cattle. We had given them right to mine the mountain for the roofs of the houses. When we surrendered princely state to centre, I had put a condition that my rights would be maintained and the Govt. did maintain them. But these rights were discontinued due to this phobia. Besides, High Court directed the Govt. to implement, the British law of 1863 strictly. Earlier, British law was not applicable on princely state and till today it is not applicable but is being thrust upon us. We are not able to build our houses. We are unable to manufacture either plough or water mills, we do not have fodder for our cattle. We do not get fuel. The Govt. should declare the hilly areas a colony. If it wants to get things done in this way. We do not want to become a colony. We are part of free India and do not want to become a colony. Therefore, I oppose it. The Govt. should reconsider it and take every step after due consideration. Keeping in view the diversity of the area, the Govt. should formulate schemes and it will have to launch a separate campaign for environment and schemes. It will have to make efforts for afforestation and maintain our rights. The only solution of all these problems is the formation of Uttarakhand. This situation does not prevail in Himachal Pradesh. .....*(Interruptions)* The hon. Speaker has paved the way.

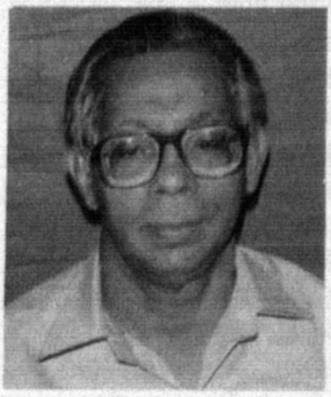
[English]

I quote :

"Yet another feature of our federal setup is that the Union Parliament has the power to reorganise the States to alter the boundaries by a simple majority in the ordinary process of legislation. In fact, the power of the Parliament was demonstrated when several new States were created as mentioned above."

[Translation]

Our hon. Speaker has mentioned in his book as to how we can get Uttarakhand. Maharaja of Gwalior was mentioning some rights and while pointing towards, me, he stated that those rights had been in existence for the last 40 years. But actually the rights have been created not by us but by his Govt. He stated that there would be no existence of the country if many new States were created. But we did not divide either Punjab, Mumbai or Assam, we did not create Darjeeling either. We proudly say that demand Uttarakhand and it is a secular demand because this demand has not been made on the basis of religion, language or caste ...*(Interruptions)*. All the local people, be they Hindu, Muslim, Sikh or Christian are supporting this demand and this proposal has been brought by BJP. Maharaja Gwalior states that we are dividing the country into pieces. It is an example to show that it is federal demand and therefore, it is being supported by all parties. Perhaps, Shri Somnath is not supporting it but entire Lok Sabha is supporting this federal demand. Therefore, our problems can be solved only by creation of Uttarakhand. With these words, I conclude my speech.



DR. DEBI PROSAD PAL

[English]

DR. DEBI PROSAD PAL (Calcutta North-West) : Madam Chairperson, I congratulate the hon. Speaker for giving this opportunity to the representatives of the people to have a free and frank discussion before this forum. On the occasion of the fifty years of our Independence, we have to take stock of what we have achieved and what is yet to be achieved. While assessing and evaluating the progress that we have made, we have to analyse how far we have been left behind in respect of economic progress in comparison with other developing countries of the world. When India became Independent on 14th of August, 1947 in the mid-night Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru announced in the historic Central Hall, "When the world is asleep India awakens to new freedom. One chapter of our struggle is over–the political Independence of the country. But the second chapter is to start and the task will be unfinished until we have removed poverty from every house in the Indian family". That is the struggle for freedom for which the hon. Speaker has given a clarion call. He has given call for the second freedom struggle.

Unless the fruits of Independence reach the common people, this economic freedom is of no use at all. During the last fifty years there has been significant development in our country. There is no want of resources, both natural and human. But in spite of that, the progress has been a lopsided one. The Indian National Congress for almost forty-two years have taken this task in developing the economy. There has been a planned economy which we have started with for mobilising national resources. We have completed eight Five Year Plans. We are on the Ninth Plan. Undoubtedly, the economic progress has been a steady one; poverty has been reduced to a substantial extent; industrialisation has been achieved in many quarters, particularly in the basic industries; and agricultural development has also been significant. But this progress has been thwarted because of the non-Congress Governments which came to power during 1977-79 and 1989-91 (May). As a result of that the economy has faced a great crisis, particularly in May 1991. The country had faced an unprecedented economic crisis because agricultural production completely fell below the normal line; industrial production was almost nil; prices rose to the extent of seventeen per cent and we had foreign exchange which would be sufficient for only fourteen days. That was the state of affairs when the Congress Government came to power during June 1991.

We have to introduce certain short-term and long-term measures to maintain economic stability. We are talking of economic liberalisation which was introduced by the earlier Government. Economic liberalisation has been introduced with a consensus. Almost all the political parties have accepted it because of the situation in which we were placed. India, at that time, both in global terms and also in national terms, was facing such a big crisis. This crisis was created particularly because of the international situation. With the collapse of Soviet Union with the emergence of China and with the emergence of the South East Asian countries in the economic arena.

India has to attain self-sufficiency, both in industrial sphere and also in agricultural production. This self-sufficiency can be achieved only by introducing certain liberalisation policy. What does this liberalisation mean? We have got to understand this. It means, emancipating the economy from the cobwebs of the bureaucratic controls; regulations and licencing should be as less as possible and at the same time, we have to take measures for boosting up the export industry and to reserve and conserve foreign exchange.

This economic liberalisation, therefore, was necessitated by the emergence of the new situation. As a result of this policy, India has now conserved more than 20 billion dollars at the end of June 1996 whose position in May 1991 was only two billion dollars. That was the achievement which was made. Economic progress witnessed was more than 12 per cent of GDP; and at the same time, the prices fell below five per cent at the end of June 1996. In spite of that, even when the present Government came to power, they inherited a legacy, a legacy which was certainly a very promising one. But in spite of that, there are many dark spots which are now creating apprehensions in the minds of the people as to how for this economic liberalisation will be able to achieve the progress of the country.

Sometimes, there were criticisms that the consequence of economic liberalisation is that the public sector industries have to be eliminated. That is not so. The public sector had played an important role in the development of the economy of the country. In 1956 when Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru introduced this economic policy, it ushered in a policy of mixed economy where the public sector had an important role to play because of the reason that subsequent capital needed to be employed, and risk is to be undertaken. For the basic industry, employment also has to be oriented private sector was not prepared for the development of the basic industries. So, the public sector had an important role to play. It was the dream of Pandit Nehru that the public sector industries should have commanding heights of the economy and the profit that would be earned would be diverted and employed for the development of the poor people.

Unfortunately, as a result of the experience gained during the years, we have found that the public sector industries have not responded to the urges and aspirations of the people in the way in which it was desired. There has been inefficiency, there has been low production and at the same time, there has been managerial confusion; there has been, this plight of capital, as a result of which the public sector was suffering losses. But that does not mean that the public sector will have no important role to play. That has been the policy all along even in the policy of liberalisation, namely the public sector be; revamped with modernisation and technical know how and at the same time, they will be given the freedom to take decisions so that they can fix up the prices, so that they can take managerial entrepreneurial decisions; and the public sector can grow in this way.

Therefore, it is wrong to suggest, as it has been in many quarters, that the public sector has been sacrificed with the policy of liberalisation. Undoubtedly, we require foreign capital. But how much do we require? It is only to the maximum extent of 27 per cent; and the rest of it has to come from indigenous savings, indigenous growth of capital and foreign investment in our country is only a small portion of our total capital investment.

In China, it is 27 million dollars. Nobody can even say that China has surrendered it economic sovereignty. Undoubtedly, inviting foreign investment does not mean that India will sacrifice its economic sovereignty. But at the same time, we have to see that the policy of liberalisation does not, in any way, affect the growth of our indigenous industry. As a result of liberalisation, we have found that the small scale industries sector has suffered very much. Even the Indian industry has to face very keen competition with the multinationals who are coming into the field. The policy of liberalisation requires readjustment and reaccommodation in the exigencies of the situation. The foreign investment can be invited only in those areas like the basic industry which includes infrastructure industry, like coal, power, energy and rural development and it is also for the purpose of export-oriented and growth-oriented industry. But it should not be allowed to affect the consumer goods industries so that the common people may not be affected by the entry of the multinationals into the Indian economy. We have got to have, as Shri Sanat Mehta has pointed out, a relook into the situation which is necessary but at the same time, we have to see that the economic liberalisation does not affect the industries which have already grown. At the same time, there should be production, efficiency and self-reliance. That is the message of economic liberalisation.

Sir, we have seen that even during the past fifty years, India has not achieved that stature which we have found in China and South East Asian countries which have developed so fast. Therefore, there should be a policy by which the fast changing economic growth can be achieved within a short time but economic growth by itself is not sufficient in a country like India. Economic growth is to be adjudged by the type and pattern of development. We must have an economic growth with thrust on the social services which the common people need so much. Therefore, we have got to see that economic growth is matched with socio-economic justice also. The Congress Government which was there between 1991 and 1996 and even the earlier Congress Government have all along considered that economic growth itself is not the only goal. It should be equally matched and accompanied by socio economic services.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude.

DR. DEBI PROSAD PAL : I am trying to conclude but kindly give me a little time.

MR. CHAIRMAN : No. There are so many speakers. Kindly excuse me. There are 60 speakers.

DR. DEBI PROSAD PAL : Economic policy cannot be straight lined in one minute. Give me another few minutes. I shall conclude very shortly.

Now, socio-economic justice is required by the common man for which any democratic Government exists and their needs and requirement have to be fulfilled. In a country like India, the income of 20 per cent of the people who are below the poverty line is 8.7 per cent and 20 per cent of the people who are affluent and who are at the topmost level are enjoying more than 47 per cent of the national income. Therefore, the Government has to spend substantial amount upon the development of rural education and development of sanitation. In our country, we require sanitation and also housing scheme for the rural people. Between 1991 and 1996, when the Congress Government was in power, they have done very many important socio-economic services. We had got a national assistance programme where two members of the family in every 3175 villages in the country were given an income of Rs. 1000 per month. There were three programmes. One programme was, people who were living below the poverty line were given a pension and an insurance of Rs. 10,000 for an accident, and also Rs. 5000. for natural death.

Expectant mothers were given an income three months before their expectancy, and also three months after the child was born. We introduced the Indira Avas Yojana for providing ten lakh houses for the poor people in the country. Now, unfortunately, we find that the state of economic reforms and the pace of social services slowed down. Therefore, it requires consideration as to how far in a democratic country like India we will be able to deliver the goods to the common people. For that, various programmes are necessary. If we cannot do that, ultimately, the struggle for the economic emancipation of the common people will remain unfinished. Therefore, what we feel today is that when we are in the 50th year of our Independence, we have got to ask ourselves the question: "Are we competent? Have we fulfilled the task which Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had indicated and which Mahatma Gandhi had all along been saying that in Indian democracy, it is the common people who, if I may say so, are the basic human material for which the democracy has to function? If condition of common people and the likes cannot improve, as very often many speakers have said, if we have not been able to remove tear from their eyes, if condition we have not been able to improve their economic situation, then, the fruits of Independence will be useless ...*(Interruptions)* I am not very much affected by all this ...*(Interruptions)*

My appeal to this august House is this. Today, when we are having this discussion about the common people, we must give further consideration. Economic growth is to be taken up, only as means to improve the lot of the common people. In socio-economic services, the Government has to come forward. It may not be a profit motive. But remember

what Lord Keynes, the greatest exponent of capitalist economy, pointed out : "In an unregulated economy, we produce guns when we require butter."

MR. CHAIRMAN : Kindly conclude now.

DR. DEBI PROSAD PAL : I am concluding, Madam. If, this independence has to mean any fruitful significance for the common man, we have to emphasise more upon the economic reforms. At the same time, the reforms must be thrust upon the socio-economic services. There are people who are languishing for years, people who have no clothes to wear, who have no food to eat and are suffering from abject poverty. Even today, 20 per cent of the population is below the poverty line. If we cannot remove tears from their eyes, any programme about economic growth will be without any significance.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude now. No more, please.

DR. DEBI PROSAD PAL : Please give me two minutes.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Shri Badal Choudhury, please start speaking.

DR. DEBI PROSAD PAL : Government has taken various measures for the economic growth of the country both in industry and agriculture. Agriculture requires special treatment particularly the agro-services which are to be developed. Industry requires much more attention ...*(Interruptions)*. Today, when we are having the discussion, there should be a debate at the national level.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Nothing will go on record.

*...(Interruptions)**

MR. CHAIRMAN : We have 60 Members who are yet to speak. And more names are coming. Whosoever is in the Chair, unless all of you cooperate, it is impossible for the Chair to accommodate everybody. Excuse me for saying so, speaking for a long time does not necessarily make it very attractive. So, please be brief and pointed.

[Translation]

SHRI SURESH R. JADHAV (Prabhani) : Chance should be given to the Member who have been elected for the first time Senior Members get opportunity to speak almost every day but junior Members rarely get an opportunity. We have been waiting for the last three days for a chance. We should also get an opportunity to speak.

*Not recorded.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please do sit down. I have called a junior Member as soon as I came. And I tried to stop a very senior Member, a former Minister. You should see that.

SHRI BADAL CHOUDHURY

SHRI BADAL CHOUDHURY (Tripura West) : Madam Chairman, thank you very much for giving me an opportunity to address the House during this four-day Special Session of the Parliament. This Golden Jubilee year of our Independence is not only an occasion for rejoicing but also the time for a stock taking of what we have been able to achieve during this half a century of Independence and where we have failed to come up to the expectations of the people.

Five decades ago and after a long struggle, this nation of ours stepped into freedom and began looking ahead with hope and excitement about the future. Freedom did not come without the pain of partition, plenty of bloodshed, and tears of suffering. Yet, those who saw the freedom come had confidence in themselves and their ability to build a new India.

As the years have gone by, the dream has turned into a nightmare, idealism has been replaced by cynicism, and purusuit of power has blinded a large section of politicians whose disregard for values in public life is matched by greed and untamed ambition. Failures are plenty. The problems of poverty, illiteracy and high population growth have not been tackled with any measure of Governmental determination. Political and administrative corruption has rendered good governance almost impossible. Factious parties and mushrooming caste groupings have watered down the nationalism of 1947.

The problems of the North-Eastern States are my first point of discussion. Those who were at the helm of affairs of the country, most of the time during the last fifty years did never pay any attention to the problems of this region though they were in power also in almost all the States of this region all those days. Some tall promises, however,

were made at times to manoeuvre the electorate and to remain in power. The rich natural resources of this region available both above and under the ground in vast areas have been allowed to lie unutilised, though their planned and proper utilisation would have enriched not only this region but also the entire country with optimum generation of employment for the youths of this region. It is needless to say that imperialist agencies, including ISI, have taken full advantage of the frustration of the people of this region. Had the Centre decided to make the investment necessary for the development of water resources and the hydroelectric potential of the North-East two decades ago, the economic scenario for the region would have been vastly different today, leaving little chance for the imperialist agencies to go ahead with their 'Operation Brahmaputra' project to destabilise the North-Eastern States and ultimately dismember the Union of India. It is really unfortunate that the then ruling Congress (I) Government at the centre had grown so unscrupulous as to use RAW for training militants in the use of explosives merey to destablize the elected Opposition Government in these States and thus oust them from power. The situation has come to such a pass today that unless sincere steps are taken immediately by the Central Government, it will become almost impossible to retain this region of the country as an integral part of India.

The United Front Government under the leadership of Shri H.D. Deve Gowda was the first Government at the Centre to try to go deep into the problems of the region and declare a package of programmes for the prompt development of this region. The Shukla Commission and the Baparai Commission set up by Deve Gowda Government have already identified some of the important areas in which North-Eastern States lag far behind the mainstream of the development of the country. It is now necessary to implement the programmes promptly and with full sincerity, so that the North-Eastern States come at par with the rest of the country and do not feel isolated and neglected.

If the United Front Government fails to fulfil its promises to the North-East, the result may be disastrous and imperialists and the secessionists may succeed in their designs.

The second point of my discussion is the Tribal question. It is very unfortunate that during the 50 years of Independence of the country, no Government at the Centre did ever care to formulate and adopt a national policy on tribals who constitute more than 6.5 crore of the country's population. The tribal inhabit certain compact areas in different States such as Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Maharashtra, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Gujarat and all the North-Eastern States. No attempt was ever made to safeguard their identity, protect their land and property, and develop their languages and culture. Thousands of tribals die every year in starvation and epidemics and thus their very existence and survival are threatened. The imperialist agencies are taking full advantage of their isolation and helpless plight, breading in them a tendency to secede.

I do not think and it will not be proper that the grant of a separate Statehood to each of these tribals or groups of tribals is any solution to this question. But what I advocate is the constitution of Autonomous District Council under the Sixth Schedule for each of the tribal compact areas as has been done in Tripura and some other North-Eastern States, as also in West Bengal and Bihar. Earlier this is done, the better. Otherwise, the frustration of the tribals fomented by imperialist agencies, and secessionist forces will surely destabilise the country as a whole.

The third point that I would like to discuss is Jammu and Kashmir. The issue has always been a very crucial one ever since the princely State marched into the Indian Union. It was in 1953 that article 370 was incorporated in the Constitution of the country to ensure greater autonomy to the State to win the confidence of the people of the State. But unfortunately no step was taken by the Central Government all these years to implement the provisions of this article. The result is that the situation worsened day by day and the imperialist forces took full advantage of the misgivings of the people. What is immediately necessary is that maximum autonomy within the frame-work of the Indian Constitution must be guaranteed to the State and adequate compensation must be given to those who have been displaced from the State. A comprehensive economic package for the speedy development of the State with generation of employment opportunities must be declared at once. If the Central Government fails to implement the provisions of article 370 with all sincerity, the national integration of the country stands threatened.

Many of the esteemed leaders discussed communalism. I would only appeal to this House and the leaders to agree on some issue. For strengthening secularism my proposals are immediate legislation separating religion from politics, strict implementation of the *status quo* of religious places as of 15th August, 1947, protection of just rights of the minorities, implementing of the provisions of the Constitution to prevent discrimination; strengthening security of the lives and properties of the minorities, backwards amongst the minorities be given OBC reservation, and protection of Urdu language.

I would also like to appeal to the United Front Government that whatever has been said by the Members

in the last three days 50 per cent of the items would have been fulfilled if Common Minimum Programme of O.F., has been fulfilled.

Lastly, before I conclude, I feel, I must say a few words on the problem of Centre-State relations that existed ever since the formation of linguistic States and became a major issue after the formation of non-Congress Government in eight States in 1967.

Subsequently, the Government was forced to appoint the Sarkaria Commission. Though its recommendations are not fully satisfactory, the Commission tried to tackle the problem. But even though many years had passed, its recommendation remain unimplemented. With the uneven development in the country and the urge arising to overcome backwardness in different States, the growth of separatist movements in some parts of the country is also the result of lack of autonomy for the States. At this moment, all resources are concentrated with the Centre and the States are at its mercy. With the liberalisation and the new economic policy, fresh attacks on existing States' rights have taken place. With a cut in the Central Government expenditure, the States are left with lesser resources for development.

The present United Front Government, however, has shown its desire to improve the Centre-State relationship through revival of the Inter-State Council, conveying of meetings of the Chief Ministers of the States and formation of Core Committee for examining the Sarkaria Commission's report and making suitable recommendations. It must be mentioned here that we definitely stand for an effective and efficient Centre capable of defending the country, organising and consolidating its economic life an adequately armed with powers to discharge its other jobs like foreign policy, communication, foreign trade etc. But at the same time, we are strongly against assumption of dictatorial power by the Centre eclipsing the autonomy of the State in other spheres.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude. This is not the last speech of yours. You will be speaking many more times.

SHRI BADAL CHOUDHURY : As far as article 356 is concerned, the Supreme Court judgment nailing the Presidential proclamation dismissing the State Governments subject to judicial review, declaring the dismissal of the Bommai Government in Karnataka as unconstitutional is a salutary check on the ruling parties which try to misuse this draconian power.

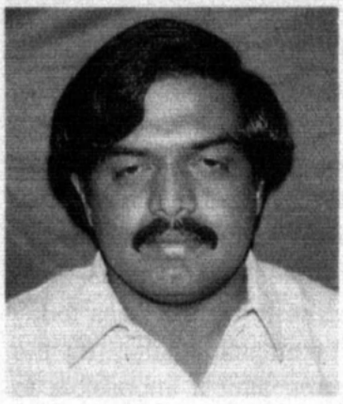
MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude.

SHRI BADAL CHOUDHURY : As for the adoption of the Seventy-third Constitution (Amendment) Bill and the Seventy-fourth Constitution (Amendment) Bill pertaining to the three-tier Panchayats, and urban municipal bodies, the lacuna in the Amendment Bill that allows the Panchayats to be subordinated to the bureaucracy with curtailment of their self-government powers has to be removed.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude.

Nothing goes on record. I have to call the next speaker. Shri K.S. Rayudu.

*(Interruptions)**



SHRI K.S. RAYUDU

[Translation]

**SHRI K.S. RAYUDU (Narasapur) : Madam Chairperson, India is a country of continental proportions. It is a multireligious and multilingual society. Yet, inspite of all the diversities the nation has marched ahead unitedly and progressed for which all of us can feel proud of.

During the years 1919-21 there was a Non-cooperation Movement conducted under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. There was Salt Satyagraha in 1930 and Quit India Movement in 1942. These are the historical events which eventually brought us independence. I did not have the good fortune of participating in those movements, as I was born after independence. Hon. Speaker has called a special session of 4 days to mark the golden jubilee of our independence. Madam, by participating in this discussion, I share and feel some of the golden moments of that generation which brought us independence.

Madam, we are the members of XI Lok Sabha. Prime Ministers, Minister, Hon. Speakers of the past contributed in their own way towards the progress of this nation. We have attained self-sufficiency in the production of foodgrains. The growth rate howered around 6-7%. After 50 years, it is time now, to take stock of the situation. It is the time for self-introspection. It is also the time to think

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*Not recorded.

**Translation of the speech originally delivered in Telugu.

about our future programmes and policies to make the country strong and rich. We have to find out where we have faltered and how we should correct our future steps.

Madam, much of the success depends on the decision taken at appropriate times. Decision taking is an important feature in running the country. Because of the delay in taking decisions in time we have to pay a heavy price for it. For example when sick PSU units are referred to BIFR and when they are sent back to the Government by BIFR, there are delays in taking the appropriate decision in time. Because of the delay in taking the decision, the industrial production in the country is suffering a loss, and thus the whole economy is getting affected adversely. Those who are in power should always remember that there should not be any delay in taking decisions.

It is also time, Madam Chairperson, to think of our duties and obligations towards the nation. Prime Minister, Ex-Prime Ministers, Ministers and Ex-Ministers and Hon. Members should think of not only their rights and privileges but duties and obligations as well. We have to think how best we can contribute to make the country one of the foremost nations in the world. There are instances in the recent years, where the persons in important positions in the country have thought more about themselves and safeguarding their power rather than thinking about the country. It is not good for the country. Similarly the persons who become Prime Ministers of the country should rise above party lines and think about strengthening the nation and not just their party alone. Whether it is a Member or a Minister or a Prime Minister, it is not important how long he could cling on to power, but what is important is how he has used the time and power for progress of the country. One should think about his achievements during his tenure rather than duration of his tenure.

Madam regarding electoral reforms many Hon. Members have spoken at length. Free and fair elections are being held in the country and when compared with other countries our record has been fairly good. But in recent years the situation has undergone a change. Money and muscle powers are being increasingly used to influence the electorate. We have to take immediate action to arrest this unfortunate trend. Through you Madam, I appeal to the Government to embark on electoral reforms without any further loss of time. I also take this opportunity to implement the recommendations of the Goswami Report. The Government should also examine Vohra Committee's Report and take appropriate decisions soon. For the past 20 years we have been thinking to adopt Lokpal Bill. To this day we have not succeeded in this effort. I do not know when it is going to see the light of the day. The Government should see that the Bill is passed as early as possible. It brooks no further delay. I am confident Madam, if all the three measures I mentioned now are adopted, it will totally eliminate corruption from one body politic. Elections will really be free and fair. Madam, we are thinking of providing reservation to women and backward classes. These are very sections of our society which are socially and economically weak. They deserve sympathetic consideration. Similarly the election expenditure is sky rocketing. It is becoming increasingly difficult even for those who are well off financially to contest the elections. Now the time has come for the Government to bear the election expenditure. The Government should take all necessary steps in this direction. Regarding Ethics Committee, many countries already have such an arrangement. In Rajya Sabha it has already been introduced. Steps should be taken to constitute Ethics Committee in Lok Sabha also.

Madam, India is an agricultural country and 60 to 70% of our population is dependent on agriculture. Farmers are the backbone of the country. We have to take all necessary steps to safeguard the interests of the farmers in the country. Braving all natural furies, farmers are providing food to us. At the dawn of independence the food production stood at a mere 56 million tonnes. But today the food production has crossed 180 million tonne mark. Braving all odds, working round the clock, the farmers are producing grains to feed the nation. But it is quite unfortunate to note that the same farmers are not being rewarded sufficiently for their stupendous effort. They are not getting even minimum support price for their produce. The Government must see to it that they get remunerative prices for the produce. As I mentioned earlier, they are subjected to the vagaries of the nature all the time. There will be floods and cyclones to wash away the standing crops during monsoons and drought during other seasons to wither away the crops. It is the farmer who is the loser all times. The conditions of the farmers are miserable now. It is the bounded duty of the nation not to allow the farmers who feed them to suffer silently. The Government should take all necessary steps to provide adequate help to farmers.

Long ago Dr. K.L. Rao had suggested a plan to link all the major rivers of the country. The present Government

should consider this proposal seriously and implement it. By linking all the major rivers, the country can be saved from floods and droughts. Drinking water can also be provided to all; especially in the drought prone areas. Crop Insurance Scheme was introduced in the country when late Shri Rajiv Gandhi was the Prime Minister. Since the present Crop Insurance Scheme happens to be too defective, the intended benefit is not reaching the farmers. Now Mandal is being considered as a unit. If say, crops in 20 villages get affected due to natural calamities and 5 villages remain unaffected, no one in the entire mandal including those who have lost the entire crop in the 20 villages will be eligible for insurance. This is too atrocious. This insurance will not benefit the farming community. We have insurance cover for jewels, sarees and even pets. But we do not have insurance cover for the standing crops. It is gross injustice. Hence I would suggest that at least a Panchayat should henceforth be considered as a unit and not mandal as is the practice now, for the insurance coverage.

Madam, please allow me for a couple of minutes more.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : Kindly conclude now.

SHRI K.S. RAYUDU : 3-4 minutes madam.

[Translation]

MR. CHAIRMAN : No more two-three minutes, you have already taken sufficient time. Please conclude now.

SHRI BRIJ BHUSHAN TIWARI (Dumariaganj) : Madam, please allow him to speak for a few more minutes.

MR. CHAIRMAN : No, he has already taken sufficient time.

SHRI K.S. RAYUDU : Madam, our country is blessed with a long sea coast. The entire coastal belt is inhabited by fishermen community. They are leading a miserable life. Braving all odds even during heavy rains and cyclones they venture out into the sea, deep into the rivers like Godavari, Upputeru, etc. But the return they get for their catch is too low. Their income is too low. Moreover, they depend on the same age old methods. Modern technology is not available to them. The Government should take all measure to modernise fishing in the coastal belt. Our fishermen should be taught modern methods of fishing. Since they are living in the coastal area they are exposed to constant danger. They should be provided with pucca shelter and houses. Madam, we are aware of the pitiable condition of our weaving community. Highly skillful that they are, they could produce a saree of entire length which could be easily folded and preserved in a tiny match box. But the same weaving community is struggling hard to survive. Starvation deaths have become too common in that community.

23.58 hrs.

[SHRI P.M. SAYEED *in the Chair*]

Hence I appeal to the Government to come to the rescue of this most neglected section of our society and save them from starvation. I hope the Government would attend to their problems immediately. Though we became free 50 years ago, the atrocities still continue to be perpetrated on SC and ST communities even today. 50 years long freedom has meant nothing for them. Certain privileges were conferred on them in our Constitution, mainly due to the efforts of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar. The facilities and concessions guaranteed under the Constitution should not be denied to them at any cost. The Government should see to it that all these provisions are strictly implemented. So far justice had been denied to them. They should not be subjected to injustice anymore.

Sir, the younger generation, especially of the age group of 18-20 years, is restless. They have no direction. It is our sacred duty to provide the necessary direction for a bright and glorious future for these young men and women who are groping in the dark now I want to say a word about women's Bill. The Hon. Women Members of Parliament are very particular that this Bill should be passed as early as possible. Female population in the country is more than 50%. Though they constitute 50% of our population, the opportunities provided to them in different fields are quite few. It means that we are not able to utilise the talent of 50% of the population. We have provided reservation in the local bodies through 73rd and 74th Amendments to the Constitution. Andhra Pradesh is in the forefront in this regard. Our beloved leader late Shri N.T. Rama Rao provided reservation for women and backward sections way back in 1986. I want the Union Government to adopt that policy and implement it in all States.

Sir, the present Government in Andhra Pradesh, headed by Shri N. Chandra Babu Naidu is implementing many

programmes like "Janma Bhumi, Shrama Danam, Prajala Vadaku Paalana" to improve the lot of the people, especially poorer sections. They are being highly appreciated everywhere. For better transparency and coordination the most sophisticated technology like NIKNET, INTERNET, etc. are being used. Our beloved Chief Minister has revolutionised the entire administration. His policies should be adopted and introduced throughout the country.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : Shri Rayudu, you must conclude now. Shri Rati Lal Verma to speak now.

(Interruptions)

00.00 hrs.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Nothing will go on record.

SHRI K.S. RAYUDU : Sir, please allow me for half-a-minute.

MR. CHAIRMAN : You say the last sentence and conclude.

[Translation]

SHRI K.S. RAYUDU : Finally, Sir, I appeal to this august House to strive unitedly, forgetting all internal differences for the creation of an emotionally integrated and united India which will have its place in the forefront in the comity of nations, which serves as a model for the rest of world, which will serve as beacon to oppressed and suppressed ones, which will be an embodiment of human dignity and life.

Sir, I conclude my speech thanking you for allowing me to speak in this special session of the House.

[English]

KUMARI SUSHILA TIRIYA (Mayurbhanj) : Sir, please allow me to speak.

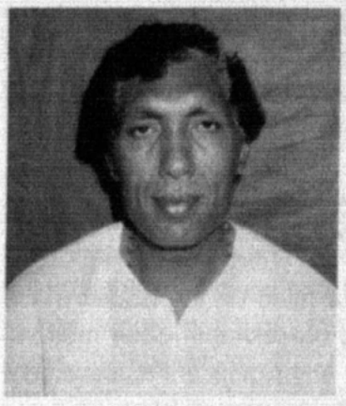
DR. K.P. RAMALINGAM (Tiruchengode) : Madam, you are asking for 33 per cent reservation. There is not even 0.5 per cent present here. You have to sit in the House.

KUMARI SUSHILA TIRIYA : Sir, I am demanding that ladies also should be given preference to speak in the House. I am the only lady waiting for 3-4 hours.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Let us see Hon. Members, all those Members who are present here want to participate now. We will have to sit for another four to five hours. I request everyone of you to cooperate with the Chair and let us complete. Each Member should restrict for ten minutes only.

SHRI RAMESH CHENNITHALA : Sir, she is the only lady Member present. Please allow her.

MR. CHAIRMAN : I have already called Shri Rati Lal Verma. She can speak next.



SHRI RATILAL KALIDAS VERMA

[Translation]

SHRI RATILAL KALIDAS VERMA (Dhanduka) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, do not make me victim of your anger which has been aroused by him. I shall speak for not more than 15 minutes.

Sir, this year, we are celebrating the Fiftieth anniversary of our independence and this four day special session has been summoned to analyse our achievements and failures as well. We have been introspecting in this regard for the last three days. It was midnight when India achieved freedom and it is just coincidence that it is midnight when I have been provided an opportunity to speak at this special day. We should not forget millions of our countrymen who sacrificed their lives for freedom.

00.03 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Let me say good morning to all of you.

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS : Good morning sir.

[Translation]

MR. SPEAKER : I have wished good morning to you.

SHRI RATILAL KALIDAS VERMA : I bow my head to them who sacrificed their lives for the country's freedom. Before independence, our elders had thought that the country would prosper, there would be 'Ram Rajya' and everyone would get food and clothings after independence. But after 50 years of independence, the condition is quite contrary to their dream. I would like to state that we did not pay attention towards the actual problems and the basic problems of the country as a result of which, we are forced to introspecting toady.

It was mentioned here that we had a multi-directional march simultaneously. Actually, we should have paid our utmost attention to two-three crucial issues but we marched in several direction as a result we could not make any significant achievements. It is said:—

"Ek Sadhe Sab Sadhe, Sab Sadhe Sab Jaye,
Mali Sinche Mool Ko, Phool Fale Aghay."

We did not concentrate our mind on the issues which needed attention and engaged ourselves in other matters, as a result, we could not make any significant achievement on any front. In the free India, we should have paid our attention on education; population; and thirdly, on agriculture. But we did not pay our attention towards education, as a result the condition of the entire country has worsened further. Had we given importance to education and the people of our country had been educated, most of our problems would have been solved themselves but we did not.

Today position is that if at all there are schools in the villages, they do not have teachers, if they have teachers, tables are not there for sitting and if there are tables they do not have blackboards for teaching the children and the children do not have the books. Today, in the villages, a teacher is taking 5-5 Classes. He is not teaching but he is controlling children lest they should run away from the school. This is the position. Importance should have been given to primary education, but we have not done so and the shortcomings in the system have not been removed. During First Five Year plan, a sum of rupees 150 crores and in the Eighth Five Plan, rupees 19,600 crores were allocated for improvement in the education. But as per census of 1991,200 million people are illiterate and they are still illiterate. Therefore, we had to launch Adult Education Programme. Under this programme, crores of rupees have been spent. I am not against adult education but it was done on paper only. Actually full literacy has not been achieved in the country so far. If this amount had been spent on the primary education, appointment of the teachers, providing blackboard and the benches, the present position would not have surfaced.

At the same time, many policies were formulated but they were not implemented properly. As per Article 45 of the Constitution, free and compulsory education should be imparted to the children. But children are not getting education in adequate number. Many commissions and committees were set up for education such as in 1948, under the chairmanship of Dr. Radhakrishna, Indian Education Commission was set up; therefore in 1952, under the chairmanship of Dr. AL. Mudaliyar, Secondary Education Commission was appointed; in 1950, Durga Lal Committee for Women's Education was constituted; in 1964, Kothari Commission was set up and in 1968, National Policy on Education was formulated but what was achieved there-from? Today, villages do not have schools, children are not getting education whereas ours is the country of villages. How many educational institutions are there in our country. Today in our country there are 5,45,677 primary schools and 4329 colleges as per the records of 1987-88. We are not paying our attention towards education today and commensurate budget allocation is not being made for this purpose, as a result of which, many problems are cropping up day-by-day.

Second major problem is related to population. Since morning, each member has been saying that country's population is rapidly increasing. Increasing population is having adverse impact on our country's achievements. Every-body has spoken on it, but no efforts are being made in this regard. We know that sermons are easy to preach but very difficult to follow. Everybody has expressed his views on it. Somebody is saying that population is increasing rapidly but nobody has spoken as to what steps should be taken to check this increasing population. If a family has more than two children, facilities would not be provided to them, Government service would not be given to them, ration card would not be issued to them and penalty would be imposed on them—no body has put such suggestions. Every year we discuss that our population is increasing and we will discuss the same issue for four days. But today I hope that some concrete steps would be taken in this regard and on the last day, a Resolution should be adopted that if a family has more than two or three children, particular steps would be taken against them and they will have to face such and such consequences.

The population of our country was 361 million in 1951 which has increased to 960 million. The population of our country constitutes 16 per cent of the world's population. Today, we are in such a position. We praise other countries that they have made tremendous progress but have we ever thought of the steps they have taken to stride on the path of progress? We are not taking steps like them. In 1951, a family planning programme was launched and in 1994 under the chairmanship of Dr. Swaminathan, report of expert group on population policy was submitted, but what is the use of it if we are not ready to accept it? In our

country, birth rate has not declined, rather it has increased and due to it, our progress has hampered. We have not been able to check it. The only reason for this is that there is a difference between our precepts and practices.

Whatever is spoken here should be followed outside and if steps are taken accordingly, there would be improvement in the country. It has been stated in the report submitted by Dr. Swaminathan that the share of the increase in the population of Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan, from 1981 to 1991 constitutes 42 per cent of the population of the entire country. In such cases, we can adopt this measure that all such State Governments, who do not control birth rate in their respective States would not be provided any grants or facilities and stern steps would be taken against them. Something can be done by taking such steps.

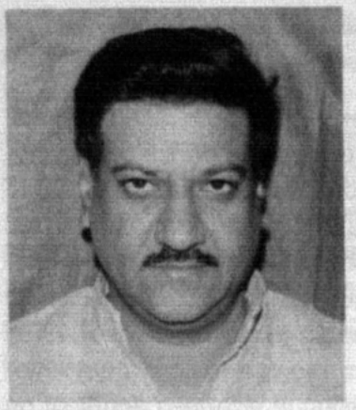
My third question is related to agriculture. The question of agriculture is linked with the question of the country as ours is an agrarian country. If Five Year Plans had been formulated in such a way that the iron and cement produced in the country had been utilised in constructing dams on each river and to check the water of Nullahas, had these plans been utilised to deepening the ponds of the villages, so as to solve the problem of drinking water of the villagers, there would have been no disputes regarding sharing of water and crores of rupees would have not been spent and there would have no enmity. Farmers do not get water and electricity, as a result of which they are migrating to the cities and the cities have become congested. The cities are so populated that the people migrating from villages are living on the banks of river and nullah and they are suffering from various diseases. If we had formulated Five Year Plans in this way, the villagers would have been prosperous, crop would have been raised there and they would not have been compelled to migrate to cities. Moreover, villagers, goldsmiths, iron smiths, cobblers and tailors would have got employment there. Today population is the second major problem of India. People do not get employment, they are in a fix and they are asking for employment. Youths are straying because they are not getting employment. Today, 60 per cent employment is available in the villages, Women, men and children are getting their employment in the agriculture sector and solving the problem of that village. But on the other hand, we have not paid our attention towards agriculture which provides 60 per cent employment to the people due to which the people are getting food-grains at subsidised price.

We have so much land in the country but when we travel in the train. We see agricultural land for 10 minutes and barren land for half an-hour. Why is that land lying barren? Why don't we distribute it among those who are landless, Such people can be asked to stay there and they could be given the right to cultivation, but not the ownership. In this way, no one will be willing to come to city. Such a step must be taken.

Now I would like to speak about Scheduled Castes. Fifty years have gone by after independence. Everyone has mentioned the name of Mahatma Gandhiji in regard to Scheduled Castes. It was Mahatama Gandhi who had taken the first step to remove untouchability. But even today after 50 years of independence, untouchability has not diminished. The same situation prevails even now in villages. Even today the dalits, the oppressed, the exploited cannot enter the temples in villages. Dalits living in villages cannot sit on the cot even today. Even they cannot move with their heads held high and ride on the back of the horse in a marriage. There was a watch maker in my village. A case was made against him. The dalits left the village and they had to be given land in Palanpur after two years. This is the situation prevailing even today.

It has been stated that we should think about reservation. The reservation facility was given due to untouchability. If there had been no reservation, a literate person would not have got employment. Today after 50 years, the backlog of SC/ST has not been cleared. Now we are talking about dereservation and creamy layer. It is not that when two per cent people have become MPs, MLAs and Panchayat heads, Scheduled Castes have progressed. Till now, they have not got their full rights and we are talking of depriving them of this facility even before giving them their due. There is dereservation agitation is going on and at some places, protests are being held against it. This facility was withdrawn in promotion but it has now been restored through an amendment by Parliament. I want to say that the dalits, the oppressed and the exploited of this country have unitedly fought for the country. Dr. Baba Saheb Ambedkar struggled for the dalits, the oppressed and the exploited, but he never dissociated himself from the country. He called upon the dalits of the country to embrace Buddhism and not Muslim religion nor Christian religion. Due to this call, the problems of backward people in this country, who want to live and die for this country, and also want to march forward with the masses of this country have not yet been resolved.

As regards weavers, I would like to say that the weavers are now not weaving clothes. Today, big mill owners are weaving clothes. Bata has snatched the job of cobblers who used to make shoes. Where will these people go? The Government will have to come to their rescue and grant them licence. Sometimes dalit people also give vent to their anger. There is resentment among dalits and they think that if they do not get something on demand, they should snatch it by force. The oppressed, the dalits and the exploited of this country do not want to enter into a confrontation. They rather want to march with this country with a feeling of brotherhood, love and affinity. I thank you for giving me time to speak.



SHRI PRITHIVIRAJ D. CHAVAN

[English]

SHRI PRITHIVIRAJ D. CHAVAN (Karad) : Thank you, Mr. Speaker, Sir for giving me an opportunity to participate in this historic Fiftieth Anniversary Session of the Parliament. As per your suggestion, I will stick to only one subject, and that is the subject of Science and Technology. I would have liked to speak on many issues but the time being very short, I want to say a few things on Science and Technology.

As we celebrate the 50th Year of our Independence and remember our heroes and martyrs who won freedom for us, it is necessary to analyse why we lost our freedom in the first place. Why were we enslave? In spite of having large population and brave warriors why were we conquered by a handful of invaders?

00.16 hrs.

[SHRI P.M. SAYEED *in the Chair*]

Sir, I see two causes. The first reason was the social order of the composite Indo-Aryan culture which divided our society not only in the four *varnas* but over 5,000 castes an sub-castes. It was a nation divided. India never fought as a united country, and it was easy to defeat it. The second reason was the better technology of the invaders. Technology was and remains today a great force-multiplier. It was our primitive technology and not the lack of valour of our people that caused our defeat and our enslavement. But then, why was this nation, which had produced great men of science, which had great traditions in science and mathematics, allowed to fall back in technology? Again, Sir, the social order of the last 2,000 years is responsible. The social order, which kept knowledge and learning restricted to a few, was responsible for it. A few discoveries that were made were never committed to writing because they could then be seen by those who were not supposed to have access to knowledge. That tradition was happily continued by the foreign rulers. It was a great national tragedy that at the time of Independence, this country of 330 million people than had a literacy of barely 18 per cent, and less than 8 per cent for women.

Therefore, when we consider our achievements, it is necessary to remember where we started and considered in that light, our achievements indeed are nothing short of being spectacular. No other country in the world started with such a tremendous handicap caused by a perverse social order.

Nehruji wanted to inculcate scientific temper in our people, to rid the country of superstition, and fatalism. But without the foundation of basic education, how can we talk of scientific temper? It was bound to fail.

Today, we face the danger of being condemned to the fringe of word knowledge system because innovations in knowledge have become highly centralised and concentrated in a few places of excellence. They have become a monopoly of a few nations that had the wisdom to invest in human development at the right time in the history. The examples of Europe, the U.S.A, Japan and more recently, South Korea and Taiwan are before us.

Therefore, while we applaud the achievements, there is need to analyse our natural strengths and remove our weaknesses so that the agenda for the next ten to fifteen years could be set.

The importance of science and technology for the economy, for agriculture, for health and ultimately for the well being of the people cannot be over-emphasised. We have an excellent Science Policy. There are noble intentions but science needs funds. What is the position of funds today? We spend less than one per cent of our GDP on science and technology. It amounts to nearly $1.5 billion. But if you look at China, it spends one and a half per cent of its GDP on science and technology; South Korea spends two per cent and countries like US and Japan spend nearly three per cent of their very high GDP on science and technology.

There is another myth which needs to be corrected. We keep on talking about India having the third largest pool of scientists and engineers. We have a large number of engineers and scientists. But engineers, scientists and doctors are required to serve the population. The question is, whether they are enough for the Indian population. India has about 150 engineers and scientists per million people. But compare it with South Korea. South Korea has ten times more engineers at 1500 per million people and Japan has thirty times more scientists per million than that of India. Therefore, when we talk of numbers, we must look at the correct perspective. We need to improve the scientific and technical training in the country, improve the quality of our manpower. Without a high quality of skilled technical manpower, we cannot compete in the world tomorrow.

When we talk of science and technology in the country, we have to consider the interface between Government and the scientific organisations. Unfortunately, in this country, science and technology has progressed only on the basis of patronage by the Prime Minister. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was a man of great vision for India. He kick-started our scientific tradition. After Independence, Pandit Nehru collected and encouraged great men of science and institution builders. Institutions were built with full political backing, with a vision of a great India. But where are the institution builders today? We had Dr. C.V. Raman. After that, where are the great men of science?

It is unfortunate that great men of science and technology today are working in Europe and America. It is unfortunate that we are not able to provide adequate facilities to them here. I do not oppose people going abroad. They are adding to the global knowledge base. While we should be able to attract them here, it is not necessary to do; because in the globalised world of Internet, collaboration is possible even without physical proximity. We have to involve a very strong NRI community of scientists and technologists in a meaningful way.

I was talking about patronage of the Prime Minister. After Pandit Nehru, the Prime Ministers who followed generally supported science in a big way but recently the political support to science and technology is declining. Science must no longer depend on the patronage of the Prime Minister. Science must become institutionalised; it must become a national creed, which is essential for the survival of our nation. Prime Minister must stop being the ceremonial head of organisations like the CSIR and the Departments of Space, Atomic Energy and Biotechnology. With the increased complexity of governance, Prime Minister will never have enough time. But must science wait? Should science suffer? The time is come for us to have a full time Cabinet Minister to look after scientific departments; we should not have just a Minister with an additional charge to answer questions in Parliament.

The next point to which I would like to refer to is the age of the scientists. The average age of scientists is going up. No fresh young people are joining our institutions of scientific research. People are migrating to foreign countries. Also, there is a dangerous threat of bureaucratisation of some of our scientific departments like the Departments of Electronics and Non-conventional Energy Sources. They were started as scientific departments. They were headed by scientists. But now we see the IAS lobby taking over these departments completely.

There is a strong need for linking the Government research labs, industry and the universities. Senior personnel must be forced to go through all the three systems. There should be no in-breeding. In US the scientific leadership comes through University network. There is also a need to improve basic sciences. Today, no one opts for science or mathematics. Everybody runs after high paying jobs in business, finance and marketing. Selling toothpaste and soaps is considered more glamorous than teaching mathematics or doing nuclear research. This trend needs to be reversed. Higher education in science and technology must be economically priced. The system of scholarships and educational bank loans must be introduced. Educational loans should be given to the student as a matter of right. Fees should be recovered from the students after they start earning.

My next point is about defence research. It is an important area. In modern information warfare, it is not the standing army or large area of the country that is important, but the scientific depth of the Armed forces, the information and the knowledge content of the weapons, communications and rader systems. While there are notable successes like the missile programme or the chemical warfare technology, many of the major defence development projects have been delayed inordinately. Time overruns of three to four times is common. I do not want to talk of cost overruns. By the time the systems are ready to be inducted into the Services, they become obsolete. We can cite many examples. It is not due to lack of competence of our scientists and not even due to the shortage of funds, but due to the lack of good management of these Research and Development programmes. In an atmosphere of secrecy that shrouds these projects, the failures also remain hidden. We do not mind buying defence hardwares from abroad, but we have kept the Indian private sector out. It is well-known that Western excellence in science was fuelled by their defence and space funding, channeled entirely through the private sector and the Universities. Our mindset should also change.

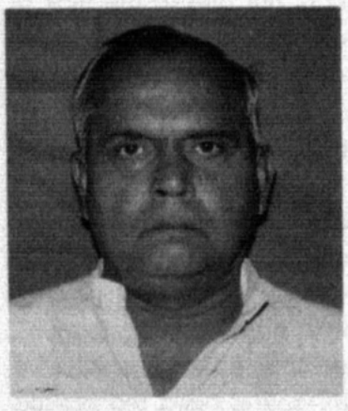
There is an urgent need for civilisation oversight for defence research, better monitoring, and need too reduce unnecessary secrecy. For better accountability, we must convert our ordnance factories into State owned companies. If Mig and Mirage fighters, submarines and missiles can be manufactured by defence PSUs, why not food, uniforms, parachutes and even small arms? The American defence research agency, the ARPA, has a successful history of civilian oversight. It has a budget of $30 billion, but manned by only 200 people.

I would now like to talk about information technology. Our skills in computer software are well-known, but unfortunately we are till providing services rather than reacting products. We are in the information age. People are talking about National Information infrastructure and

Global information infrastructure. They are building Infobahns and the information super highways. Technology is growing so fast that it is overtaking speed of political decision making. We have to think of our own national information infrastructure. Not only every university, but every college and high school must get connected and have access to information highway at an affordable cost. Access to the Internet for universities, individual professors and student must be subsidised. We must introduce a scheme that every college lecturer, professor and student becomes computer literate and is able to have a State-subsidised computer at home, with Internet connectivity.

Sir, bio-technology is an important area. We know that we have done well in science and technology. But in order to keep our competence in this field we have to do a lot more. The basic fact remains that unless we have 100 per cent literacy and unless we are able to eradicate illiteracy in a very short time, we cannot have a scientific temper and we cannot have a good system of scientific education. Before we rise for the Session, the House must pass a resolution that before the end of this century, we will mop up all our resources to eradicate illiteracy. Only then will we be able to build a super structure of science and technology.

With these words I conclude.



SHRI BRIJ BHUSHAN TIWARI

[Translation]

SHRI BRIJ BHUSHAN TIWARI (Dumariaganj) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, the discussion has been going on since the last three days in this House on the resolution moved by Hon'ble Atal Bihari Vajpayee and even today, in the midnight, the discussion is going on. Many learned and veteran Members have participated in this discussion but the biggest question that confronts us today is that what is the way out of these problems. It seems we have gone astray. It is also true that we have made big achievements, but we have to pay a heavy price for those achievements. The problems which existed at the time of Independence are still there.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, the name of Gandhiji has been mentioned by almost every Member. I want to remind the House that Gandhiji had asked us to find a path for ourselves instead of going by the books only. Now, the argumentative inquisitives armed with their datas do not understand that Gandhiji was able to comprehend the problems of the country easily. It was not so with respected leaders like Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru, Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel and other contemporary leaders. Gandhiji had laid more emphasis on political freedom rather than on economic or psychological freedom. Rest of the leaders did not rise to the stature of Mahatama Gandhi in this respect and we are witnessing its results today.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, today we are suffering because of globalization. Gandhiji had warned the nation against the kind of technology which is coming today and its remifications. At that time, Gandhiji had called for finding one's own path and he had not attended 'Charkha' (spinning wheel). He was in favour of modernization of this spinning wheel. We should modernise our technology and system keeping in view our needs, manpower, capital and resources. Gandhiji and Lohiaji had also supported this view.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, Lohiaji had talked about small machines. Whether it is capitalism or communism, the mode of production in both the cases is same. Big machines give large scale output and that too speedily. It was presumed that these will meet the requirements of the people and their problems will be solved automatically. But the developmental infrastructure which we have adopted has resulted increase in poverty and disparity.

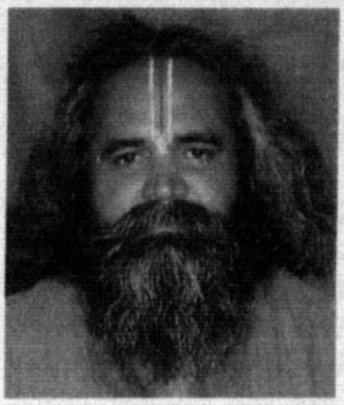
Mr. Chairman, Sir, alongwith increasing poverty and disparity in our society, dehumanisation is also going on. We are losing sensitivity. It was said that Gandhiji was a warrior. He did not have any weapon but he united the entire nation. How he united the nation. He united the Nation with its language. Today, very little is said about the language. It is not less than a catastrophe that even after 50 years, we are unfortunate that we could not have our own language. We have not been able to give proper respect to our language. Gandhiji had used the language to integrate the country and not to disintegrate it and he continuously used to say that if the country wants freedom, English would have to go from this country. He was not in any dilemma regarding it. The system of teaching English will have to be changed. English will have to be replaced. English has been strengthened which has affected our mentality and that mentality has affected our plans. Today, the entire House is deliberating on this. Everyone admits that this economy and the new economic policy is not going to bring any positive results.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, but those who run the country are these very intellectuals. We have talked about China and Japan also but what has happened in China and Japan? The people of China adopted the policies of MaoTseTung and we accepted the policies of Gandhiji. But the difference between we people and the Chinese is that the people of China accepted Mao's policy of simplicity in life. They decided that they would not lead a lavish life and keep away from the modern consumerism. The result is that by living simple life China has saved much. The saving of China was much. Gandhiji had also said the same thing but the intellectuals of our country could not understand it. We think that unless we initiate the West, we will not be able to arrange the modern means of consumption and by our life-style we would not be called modern. This is the difference between China, Japan and India.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, one of the reason is that China and Japan had been enslaved for a very short period. The countries which remain slave for a short period loses political freedom only. Those who remain slave for long, fall a victim to mental slavery and today we have also fallen a victim to mental slavery. Therefore, we have not resolved about our language. Language is concerned with our livelihood, language is concerned with our development and language is concerned with our nationality.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, at the same time our system of planning will also have to be changed. Today, the development is leading towards loss of employment opportunities. This development is a silent development. It is a standstill development. The Human Report, 1996 has warned that the record of economic and human resource development of the past 30 years makes it clear that no country can adopt the liberalised way of development for long. From the development point of view, Andhra Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Orissa and Bihar are backward states. Yet, it was thought that if there is economic development, the human development will be there automatically but there are states like Kerala, Tamil Nadu and other States, where human development has been much in the field of illiteracy and health but on the other hand, there are Haryana and Punjab where much economic development has taken place but the human development has been far less. The backward areas like Andhra Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Orissa and Bihar have fallen into the trap of low economic and human development. Therefore, we have to change it. How can it be changed? We will have to make more and more budget provisions and allocate much funds for this purpose.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, besides allocating more funds in the budget, we will have to pay attention towards our education. Our education is like the Pivot on which our whole economy depends. That has also to be changed. Unless the literacy increases, neither the productivity would increase nor the death rate would come down. Therefore, today there is a need to show our commitment towards total employment. Besides social development, public support will also have to be increased. More investment will have to be made in the field of education and health so that productivity can increase and as a result of which, labour can have the benefit of development. If we do so, then we can really find a way out. We can enter a new era from the dark age with a commitment and can lead the nation. With these words, I thank you very much.



DR. RAMVILAS VEDANTI

DR. RAMVILAS VEDANTI (Machhalisahar) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee year of our freedom, I have got the opportunity to speak in this House for which I am thankful to you. Fifty years of freedom have passed. What have the people of this free country lost and gained during these fifty years? I would like to submit that before freedom, Mahatama Gandhi had said that when the country is free, this country will have 'Ram Rajya'. But even after 50 years of independence, the dreams of Mahatama Gandhi have not come true.

Today, looking at the condition of the country, it seems that we have got freedom after 50 years of freedom. But when we look at the condition of the country, it seems that dependence is on the increase even after 50 years of freedom and freedom is on the decrease. At the time of independence, the population was 35 crores and the livestock was 20 crores. But after 50 years of independence, the human population has increased upto 96 crores while the population of livestock has come down to 8 crores from 20 crores. Today, five thousand livestock are butchered daily. The result is that today the largest quantity of meat is being supplied from this country in the world whereas there is no shortage of anything in our country. With the advent of technology, science has developed. It is very good. We have made progress through science. Our country has made progress, it is very good. The number of tractors has increased and the agricultural production has also gone up but unemployment has also increased alongwith the production. Keeping in view the present condition, it seems

that the society has been divided in this country in many parts.

After 50 years of independence, we thought that the people of this country would be united. There would be a uniform law for all the classes of this independent country. There would be equal rules and sections but it is surprising that perhaps there would be no country in the world where there are different laws for the people of the country. There are different laws even in the States. Kashmir has its own laws, Nagaland has its own and Kerala has its own. These different view-points have divided and not united the country.

I urge upon the Government that even after 50 years of independence, we are far behind in education policy also. Our educational ability has not increased but decreased. Education has not developed to the extent it should be. You will be surprised to know that actually people should get their due place in accordance with their qualification but qualification has no value in this country today. Qualification has got no place in the country today. Well-educated engineers, scientists do not get jobs. These poor fellow migrate to foreign countries and earn money there.

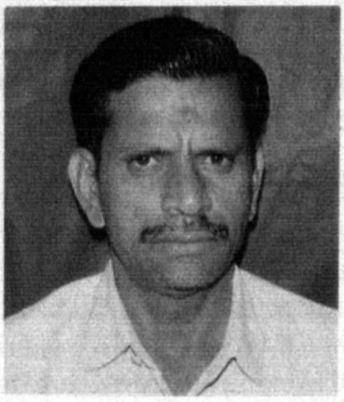
The reservation policy was started in our country and its limit was also raised. The position has become such in the country now that every section of the society wants to make progress with the help of reservation. That ambit of reservation has been extended so much that the entire country is divided on the basis of reservation. Thousands of young men and women resorted to self immolation as a protest against this policy. But despite that, our Parliament could not formulate any such rules so as to ensure qualification its due recognition. The situation of the country today is such that it seems as if a conspiracy has been hatched to divide country in the name of caste, creed and religion. We had thought that the entire country would be united in one string after independence to realise the dreams of Mahatma Gandhi. But people did not unite and on the contrary, they got divided to such an extent that a brother has become a bitter enemy of his own real brother. People are fighting among themselves in villages today. A single home is divided in four families as a result of which people have been fighting in villages and cities. What have we got after 50 years of Independence? We see that people have been divided among themselves and alienated. Had there been a uniform law in the country today for every person who has taken birth here in line with a uniform law as in America, China and Russia, this country would not have been divided. Every country has got its own rule, a system and a code of conduct. We do not have anything like that. It has been divided in many parts. Similarly, the people of this country are also divided in many parts as a result of which, there has arisen a situation like fighting in streets in the country today. The situation has assumed proportion of class struggle. After 50 years of Independence, all Members are sitting here together for this discussion and I want to make a submission before them that there should be a uniform law for all citizens of this country irrespective of their caste, creed and religion. They should get equal rights and everybody should be equal before law.

I want to make a submission before the House that after 50 years of Independence, our system of education is not being followed. When the country became Independent, Mahatma Gandhi had said that English would be removed from our education system after Independence. Our mother tongue would be given the due honour. After Independence, the words written in English on the walls of Parliament and President House were obliterated. Dr. Rajendra Prasad played a significant role in this exercise. This proposal was passed in this very House and you might have seen that couplets in Sanskrit are inscribed on the President House. Couplets in Sanskrit have been inscribed on the walls and rooms of our Parliament. But it is amazing that Sanskrit has been excluded from the tri-language formula. Sanskrit has been described as a dead language stating that it could not deliver goods for the country. Can English only deliver goods for the country? I feel astonished when I attend the meeting of the Railway Committee, I see that it is written in the Committee hall, use Hindi. But people sitting there speak in English only. Our inclination towards English has made this country enslaved and that has eaten very vitals of our country. If we think as to what have we got after fifty years of Independence, we would find that when a child is born in our country now-a-days, he carries the debt of eight thousand rupees. After Independence, our country has got loans from foreign countries which now has become a cause of the country's ruin. The whole country is concerned about this situation at present. I want to request that we all will have to come forward to break this vicious circle of debt trap and we will have to make our society united.

The present condition of education has been continuously deteriorating. The condition of education which is in our country perhaps will not be anywhere in the world. The percentage of dropouts at the primary education level is 40 per cent. The education system which is required for urban and rural areas in various States and the conditions of the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other sections of society also do not give a clear picture in regard to level of education among them.

The number of literates which was 52 million in 1951, has gone up to 350 million in 1991. Later on, the number

of illiterates has gone up to 197 million. Out of 10 crore 50 lakh children, 3 crore 5 lakh children are deprived of primary education. School-building is not available for them. Children of primary schools die inside the school-buildings due to collapse of roofs during the rainy season. The facility of drinking water is not available for them. This House should ponder over this aspect and should decide what is required for the society. Our unemployed youths are wandering in search of jobs today. In such a gloomy situation we have achieved less and lost much during these fifty years of Independence. We have been distenced from our own culture and traditions. With these words, I conclude my speech.



SHRI R. GNANAGURU-SWAMY

[English]

SHRI R. GNANAGURUSWAMY (Periyakulam) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I thank you very much for the opportunity being given to me to participate in the discussion. Fifty years have passed since we attained Independence. In all these 50 years, India had witnessed so many achievements. There is multifarious development in multifarious fields. Democracy has perpetuated in India while so many nations which attained Independence alongwith our nation have slipped into totalitarianism and some of the States have become theocratic States. Martial Law is in force in some of the nations...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Silence please.

SHRI R. GNANAGURUSWAMY : India is the only nation where democracy is practised. India is the nation where ballot decides the fate of the nation. Not only that, there is development in the economic sphere. There is industrial development. There is growth in agriculture. We have attained self-sufficiency in production of foodgrains. There is also development in science and technology and also in the field of infrastructure. With all these developments, can we claim ourselves that we are living in a free nation, that we are living in free India? No. Half of the population of our country are living below the poverty line. They are living in an abysmal poverty and utter destitutes. Still there is economic slavery in the nation. There is social slavery. Still there is political slavery. The gulf between the 'haves' and the 'have-nots' is widening. The people belonging to the working class are not properly paid at least to enable them to keep their kitchans going on. Still there is exploitation. Still there are exploiters and the exploited. There are so many villages in many parts of India where untouchability is still practised. Tamil Nadu may be an exception. Untouchability has been totally eradicated in Tamil Nadu. But there are many parts of India where untouchability is still practised. There are so many villages where even *dalits* are not allowed to enter. There is social slavery. India is also witnessing political slavery. The Indian policy is dominated and controlled by money bags and effluent community. The industrialists and the affluent people are funding the political parties. They are making Government of their choice. They are dictating terms to the Government. They are ruling the nation by proxy. At this juncture, can we claim that we are living in a free nation? No, we are not living in a free nation. I would recall what Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said on 14th August, 1947 at midnight : "the task before the nation is to wipe every tear from every eye."

Until and unless we feed every mouth which is starving, until and unless we provide shelter to every individual and provide education to every girl and boy—education of her or his choice—we cannot claim that we are living in a free nation.

After Independence, the communal forces are active not only in politics but also in public life. Some political parties are inducing communal hatred and caste discriminations for their political advancement. Political parties for furthering their political prospects are inciting communal hated. They are indicting and inducing the tender, religious feelings of the people. Those political parties or organisations which bear the name of a religion or a caste should be banned. Any political party which is considered as communal should be derecognised by the Election Commission.

For the past three days, all the political parties are talking about criminals in politics. The hon. House consists of Members from various political parties. But every political party is talking about as if criminals are in politics. This reminds me of a situation where a thief runs away with a booty shouting "Thief, thief", as if everyone would think that other man is a thief. We are from the political parties. All the political parties are here. But all of us say that criminals are in politics. We must sit together and evolve a strategy and put an end to it. Irrespective of any eventuality, we should not permit criminals to enter into politics. If we do

not do that, this august House, sooner or later, will have people with criminal background, scoundrels and rowdies.

Article 356 of the Constitution is a blot on the Constitution of India. It is a disgrace to the human civilisation. Under this article, a lawfully elected Government, a Government which enjoys the majority of the House is dismissed. Is it not an invasion on the right of the State? Is it not making serious inroads into the rights of the electorates? So long as article 356 is in the Constitution, it destroys the federal character, federal fibre of the Constitution. Article 356 should be removed forthwith. If it is not removed, at least a committee should be constituted headed by the Chief Justice of India with two Members. The Members should be Chief Justice of States. One Member should be from the State Chief Justice against which article 356 is likely to be imposed. The committee should go into the situation and find out whether there are the circumstances warranting to use article 356. Only on the recommendation of such a committee, article 356 should be invoked. If not, the very federal fibre, the very federal character of the Constitution would go to the dogs and apes.

Let me say with a heavy heart that Indian culture is a configuration of heterogeneous linguistic cultures. The strength of the Indian democracy lies in unity in diversity. Every State is having its own cultural heritage. There is a growing tendency in recent years for imposing Hindi on the non-Hindi speaking people against their wishes and against the assurance of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. He had given an assurance to the non-Hindi speaking people that Hindi would not be imposed on them until and unless it was entertained by the non-Hindi speaking people. Now there is a growing tendency for imposition of Hindi on non-Hindi speaking people. In any eventuality, the assurance given by the then Prime Minister of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru should be honoured.

01.00 hrs.

If it is not done the consequences would be serious.

Sir, our Constitution is a quasi-federal Constitution. Nowadays we are talking about the so-called cooperative federalism. Whatever it is, till the powers are concentrated in the hands of the Centre. These are not going to the States. Most of the powers which are accumulated in the Centre should be delegated to the States and the States in turn delegate these to the *Gram Panchayats* in such a way so as to enable the common man who is living in a remote village to participate in the governance of the nation.

With regard to unemployment I would say that this is a global phenomena. There are 3.9 million unemployed graduates in India. It may be due to so many factors. The hon. Speaker, while initiating the debate has said that India should go for second Independent struggle. I would say that the unemployed youth are like a tinder box which may blast any time. If immediately effective steps are not taken, India would witness a civil war very soon. So, we have to pay much attention to this problem and we must put an end to this problem.

Thank you very much, Sir, for giving me an opportunity to speak.

PROF. P.J. KURIEN

PROF. P.J. KURIEN (Mavelikara) : Thank you Sir, for giving me an opportunity to speak. This is an historic occasion and I thank the hon. Speaker for having summoned this Session which is meant for a kind of retrospective exercise.

I would submit that it should not only be retrospection, but there should be some introspection also. Let us, on this historic occasion, the parties as well as the individual Members themselves, introspect as to what extent is their contribution towards national reconstruction.

Sir, we are celebrating the golden jubilee of our Independence. But is it not a fact that we do not see that kind of exultation or euphoria that should be associated with the celebrations? At least, to my mind, I feel that there is something that is lacking, something that needs to be done. We have to search and find out what it is.

Yesterday, hon. Shri Vajpayee and Hon. Shri Madhav Rao Scindia, while speaking — mentioned about the great cultural heritage of our country. Yes, this country has a very great cultural heritage, a civilisation of 5000 years. We should be proud of that. But is there that national pride seen?

When the West and the rest of the world were groping in darkness, the illuminating light of wisdom continued to enlighten this country. I would like to narrate one instance

here. Recently, when I was browsing through the Old Testament of the Bible in the Book of Esther – it is a book of the Old Testament written about thousands years before Christ, that is, three thousand years from now – I was thrilled to see a reference being made to India. In the Malayalam Bible it was *Hindu Desh* and in the English Bible it was India. To make sure that it is India, through an expert I got it referred to the original Greek Bible, and found that it is India.

Sir, Three thousand years ago, in that far away country, India was known. What does it mean? India was known as a well-reputed nation, at every nook and corner of the then known world. Are we not proud of that? But unfortunately, that national pride is lacking. What is the reason?

Sir, let me now come to our freedom struggle. The saga of our freedom struggle is unparalleled in the history. It is so unique that for the first time in the history of mankind, a mighty Empire of which it is said, 'The Sun never sets', has bowed down before a half-clad man called Gandhiji. The might of the guns have bowed down before the cream called non-violence or *Ahimsa*. Is this not something to be proud of? Are not the sacrifices of our national leaders, the leaders who fought for the freedom, something to be proud of? Are we feeling proud of that? I feel it is not to the extent it should be.

Today, I heard an hon. Member saying that we do not read or study the history of our freedom struggle. Sir, what is lacking in this country is a national pride and national character. This can be brought about only if we start looking back at the great cultural heritage of our country and draw inspiration from that. Also we should start studying the history of our freedom struggle and draw inspiration from that. Then only, can we have a national pride and national character. *(Interruptions)*

When I talk about national character, I am sorry to say that our education system also does not contribute to national character, not even character training. Both Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, the great educationist that India has seen and Swami Vivekananda have emphasized the role of education in building the character of a man. But we do not give any importance to character training in education.

Today our youth are running after the so-called modernity, the superficiality of the so-called modernity. They think what is seen elsewhere is modern. What is modernity? Modernity is not a question of data. Modernity is a question of outlook. Gandhiji is more modern than any other so-called modern men of today.

Today we heard Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao speaking how Gandhiji is relevant today – more relevant than the latest technologies, the new technologies.

Therefore, my suggestion is that in our education system we should include portions that enables to bring about national pride, national character and character training. That is my first suggestion.

Secondly, a lot is said about freedom struggle. There was a clarion call from this very House for a second freedom struggle.

Sir, what was freedom struggle? What were the contents of our freedom struggle? It had two ingredients. The first ingredient was political freedom and the second ingredient was economic emancipation. We got our freedom in 1947. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru started the second freedom struggle through the Five Year Plans immediately after that. So, through the planning process, the second freedom struggle was already started and to say that today we have to start the second freedom struggle, I would say, in all humility, a misnomer.

Why I say that it was a freedom struggle because it was a fight against poverty. If it was a fight and war against poverty, then what have we achieved? It is not necessary that on all fronts we should succeed. However, on some fronts, we were successful; in some fronts we were partially successful. It is not always possible to be successful in every effort. The document which has been supplied by the Secretariat to as proves that in every field of human activity, we have progressed. There is development in every field of human activity whether it is in agriculture, in science and technology or in industry. Then the question is that a lot more is to be done. There is progress, but further we have to go a long way. It is because today 30 per cent of our people are living below the poverty line. Therefore, we have to continue the second freedom struggle.

What was our population in 1947? It was only 350 million. What is the population today? It is nearly 950 million. Out of the total population of 350 million in 1947 what was the percentage of people who were living below the poverty line? It was 70 per cent. If 70 per cent people were living below the poverty line, what was the number of people, at that time, who were living below the poverty line? It was 250 million. The population has tripled in the last fifty years. That means what would have been the number of people living below the poverty line? It is 250 million into three which is equal to 750 million. So, 750 million people would have been living below the poverty line in this country if Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had not started the planning process and five year plans. Whereas only 350 million people were living below the poverty line? Today it is only 30 per cent of our population. That means 450 million people over the last fifty years have been brought out of the poverty line. Are we starting the freedom struggle

now? So, do not play down or under-estimate the achievement we have made. That is what I am saying. I am saying with a painful heart. So, 450 million people who were below the poverty line were brought above the poverty line over the last fifty years. I am not saying that everything has been achieved. But I am saying that much has been achieved.

We talk about multinational companies coming into this country. Why do the multinational companies come to this country? Every one knows that it is to tap the market of 330 million middle class people. Where has this middle class come from? What was the number of middle class people in 1947? It was not even five million. These 30 million middle class people have been brought above the poverty line by the Nehruvian model of economy, by the progress in the last fifty years.

So, if the multinationals come to this country today, the foundation for that has been laid by the Nehruvian model.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude.

PROF. P.J. KURIEN : Sir, you give me five more minutes. My Chief Whip promised me more time. He said he will be given more time. If my Chief Whip agrees I will conclude ...*(Interruptions)* Let me complete the point. Anyhow, I have started on a point.

Now, I want to say about the people below the poverty line also. I would say from my personal experience – and everybody will agree with me – that even the purchasing power of the people below the poverty line has increased over the last fifty years.

MR. CHAIRMAN : No, you do not have time.

PROF. P.J. KURIEN : Sir, the daily wages of an agricultural worker in my place, in the Fifties were two rupees and at that time the price of one kilogram of rice was also two rupees. With one day's wage he could get one kilogram of rice. Today, in my place, the wage of an agricultural worker is Rs. 90. If he goes to the market with that amount of Rs. 90 he will get at least seven to eight kilograms of rice. Even for an agricultural worker, the purchasing power has increased eight times. That means, the purchasing power of even the people below the poverty line has increased.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude.

PROF. P.J. KURIEN : Therefore, it is no good to play down our achievements. We have started the second freedom struggle much before, immediately after Independence. Therefore, let us not call it the second freedom struggle.

How did we get this achievement? It was against all odds. We had the trauma of partition. We had three assassinations. We had to fight three wars. In spite of all this, we have achieved so much. Yesterday I heard some honourable member praising China profusely for their achievements. But, remember, China is a totalitarian country and we are a democracy. By preserving and maintaining democracy we achieved so much.

Yes, during this period there was a small aberration about which Shri Vajpayee has mentioned and he suggested—why not an apology for that. He is not here now. With all humility and respect to Shri Vajpayee. I would say that he should also have said that Indiraji herself withdrew the Emergency on her own without being asked for. On her own she withdrew the Emergency and ordered the elections ...*(Interruptions)* No despot can do that. Only a democrat can do that.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Now, kindly conclude.

PROF. P.J. KURIEN : Sir, I am on the last point about communalism. Please permit me for three more minutes. I leave many of the points. Let me come to the three evils of the country. According to me they are corruption, communalism and casteism. On corruption, everybody is speaking. On communalism a few are speaking. But on casteism very few, I think nobody, is speaking. I do not know why. All the corrupt people should be dealt with firmly. At the same time by taking effective steps, the scope for corruption should be minimised, due to lack of time I am not highlighting it. But, it is not good to paint the country as a corrupt country to the outside world, please note.

Then I come to communalism. Why is there the feeling of communalism? Communalism is one's innate feeling of superiority over other religions. How to deal with that? Merely by lip service you cannot get rid of communalism. There should be a conscious national effort to get rid of communalism. Where does it start? It has to start in our minds. What are we doing for that ? We are following the British system of education. In the British system of education since they have one religion, no effort is made to teach respect for other religion. This country is a multi-religious country.

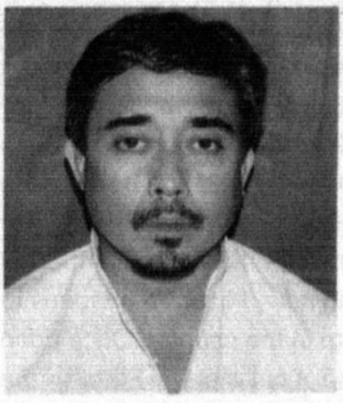
Therefore, it is a national responsibility to inculcate respect for other religions in the minds of the people. How can it be done? It can be done only if in our class rooms, the underlying unity of all religions is taught. We should start respecting others' religions. That is possible only if the essential unity of religions is being taught to our students.

MR. CHAIRMAN : You speak the last sentence. You please conclude now.

PROF. P.J. KURIEN : Sir, you know very well that the Quran and the Old Testament are more or less the same. St. Johns' Gospel says in the beginning was the word which is nothing but 'om'. But nobody is there to teach this to the students, nobody is there to teach them. To tackle communalism, we should get out of the negative attitude towards religion. But start teaching the essential unity underlying all religions in our class rooms and schools so that our youth is brought out of communal feelings. This is my suggestion with regard to communalism.

MR. CHAIRMAN : You speak the last sentence now.

PROF. P.J. KURIEN : With these words, though I have to say some more points, I conclude my speech.



DR. JAYANTA RONGPI

DR. JAYANTA RONGPI (Autonomous-District) (Assam): Thank you, Chairman, Sir, I have been listening to the speeches of our leaders of various parties for the last three days. In this Session, there is a departure from the normal Parliamentary Sessions in the sense that the speeches have become more academic, sometimes philosophical and sometimes nostalgic too. In fact, I belong to a very small party. Most of the speakers were part of the ruling coalitions or the ruling party during the last 50 years. Almost 95 per cent of the speakers were ruling India at one time or the other. So, I expected a few words of introspection instead of nostalgia, a bit of repentance, if I am permitted to say, rather than being philosophical. I think that without introspection, without reviewing our past performance, this type of Session will carry no meaning. Still, I would like to express my thanks to the Speaker for organising this Session as a celebration of our 50th year of Independence.

In this House, I represent an important section of North-East. When a sizeable section of people of North-East are now having a deep sense of alienation from Delhi, we have been launching a successful and very popular movement for democratic restructure of the State of Assam, which we will feel ultimately encourage democratic polity and democratic integration of our beloved motherland. We have been doing this because we subscribe to the ideology of the revolutionary left. Therefore, we represent the voice of extreme dissent in otherwise set pattern of discussion in this august House.

Of course, usually, I do not get time to participate in the important national debates. So, I thank today for giving me this opportunity.

I will be very brief and I will deliberate only on a few points.

The first point is about criminalisation of politics. Hon. President referred to this in his Address on the night of 14th and 15th August. The Prime Minister went to the extent of saying that in Parliament he had to sit with some persons with whom he would prefer to avoid sharing company outside. This is a very serious matter. Who are these gentlemen sitting in this House? Can one hope to launch the second struggle of freedom with such people?

I have lost my friend who was the President of the Jawaharlal Nehru University not once but twice. I want to talk about Shri Chandrashekhar, who was a young student leader of JNU for two consecutive terms. He was shot dead in Sivon on a broad daylight. I do not want to name that person but a Member of Parliament has been booked. This House has never spoken in unequivocal terms about this. Are we going to start our freedom struggle? Are we going to have introspection with all these people? We must position ourselves to resolve against all the people who are having a criminal record. I am citing a specific example about the murder of Shri Chandrashekhar at Sivon. Have we got the course to take a resolution? Yesterday I got a report from the Shikta Block of West Champaran district in Bihar about the Mushair Community which is the lowest community in the ladder of social system. That village was raided and a three year child was snatched from his mother and thrashed to death. This is going on in Bihar. This is happening not only on there but the *Dalits* are being killed in police firing in Mumbai and in Tamil Nadu. They are not even allowed to hold peaceful demonstrations against atrocities committed. Therefore, we have to take a serious view of this matter.

Regarding corruption, the question comes, who should be proceeded against. Is it against petty clerks or peons or other small fries or big shots? As far as Indians are concerned, they are agitated over the corrupt act of politicians. And the party which has ruled India for most of the time and whose leaders have taken corruption as a pass-time, if they fight shy of taking corruption as a major issue, it is understandable. But all those political parties

who launch a crusade against corruption on the way to power, develop cold feet whenever they are asked to take a firm stand. I do not know why it is so.

I want to be very brief before I speak about the North-East. Even after 50 years of our Tryst with Destiny, how is it that communalism becomes such threat to the Indian polity? There is not much to object if a party which has got nothing to do with the Indian freedom struggle, is now trying had to appropriate some glory of the Indian freedom struggle. I do not object to it because if there is pseudo-secularism, there is pseudo-patriotism also. But at least I expect and that is also for Ram's sake. Let it begin with an unqualified apology to the nation for its role in demolishing the Babri Masjid.

Otherwise, by whatever name we call it, either *Swaran Jayanti Yatra* or something else, it will remain only an exercise for promoting the cause of Hindu *rashtra.*

Regarding the North-East, Mr. Chairman, Sir, if I do not say a few words, I will be failing in my responsibilities. So, I will conclude by saying about the North-East. I will not take much time. I expect two things from this Parliament and also from the Government. The first thing is that there should be serious introspection. The second thing is to stop the politics of gimmicks in the North-East.

Whenever any matter of the North-East comes, any successive Government will say always that there is a foreign hand. The objective situation, the ground situation is like that because of the decades of neglect, unequal development and over-utilisation of powers. But all these are never accounted for. Any problem in the North-East is always simplified by saying that there is an involvement of foreign hand. But I would like to say about something the foreign hand. Yes, in the North-East, as some disgruntled youths are taking to arms, some foreign agents are taking upper hand, and they are fishing in the troubled water.

But Sir, the main problem is not the foreign hand. The main problem is that an objective situation has been created in such a way that the forces outside or across the borders are taking advantage of that. Therefore, we must first keep our houses in order.

Secondly, I want to remind the House that it is not only the five decades of our Independence but it is also the Indian army which has been engaged there for five decades to bring peace. But what has been the result? Nothing. In late 50s, when the Indian Army was deployed in the North-East to counter insurgency, there was only one insurgent group. But four or five decades after development of our Army, there are now dozens of such insurgent groups. Yes, if you control the insurgency problem of the North-East with the Army, the way you have become successful in Punjab or you are hoping to be successful in Kashmir, well you do it. But your records of five decades have shown that you have failed. When the Army has failed during the last five decades, there is no chance that they will be successful immediately in the near future.

So, this policy must be reviewed. There must be a political solution to it. I have never said that the Government of India has never tried to have a political solution of the problem of the North-East. Whenever they have tried for the political solution, it has given results. Between 1969 and 1971, the then Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi had started a dialogue with the tribal people, the disgruntled people. Assam, and the North-East, was reorganised under the Act of this Parliament in 1971. After that, in many areas the peace had returned. There are still district areas in the North-East where there is peace and development. For example, the State of Mizoram was created by North-East Reorganisation Act of 1971. And now, Mizoram happens to be the second most literate State in the country. Once upon a time, Mizoram used to be the most literate State in the country.

Similarly, Arunachal Pradesh and Meghalaya are the peaceful States. That is why I am saying that whenever the Government of India has tried for political solution, they have got the results.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Dr. Rongpi, please conclude now.

DR. JAYANTA RONGPI : Yes, Sir, I am concluding. Sir, after that, the political dialogues have been put into the backyards and the military and police solutions have been tried which have resulted into present catastrophe. Now, there is a volatile situation in the North-East. Therefore, in this regard, I want to say a few things.

Let this Parliament pass a Resolution to implement all the Accords. Now, the Prime Minister is saying all the time that we should have a dialogue with the NSCN and the Bodo extremists. We have already been successful in making people come to the negotiating table and sign a negotiated accord and a memorandum of understanding. But these have not been implemented. The Assam Accord is twelve years old and it has not yet been implemented. There is an accord even with the Tripura National Volunteers and in another agreement with Laldenga all the clauses are yet to be implemented. The Bodo Accord which was signed

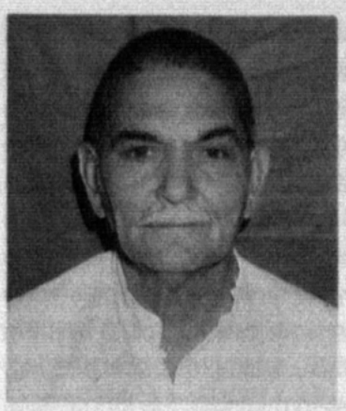
by the previous Government is yet to be implemented and the Memorandum of Understanding signed with the people and the Movement Organisation of Kabri, Anglong and North Cachar Hills is yet to be implemented. They are not implementing any accord; they are not fulfilling any commitment. Government is saying that it wants political discussions and they are inviting the Nagas and the Bodos for discussions. Let there be a Resolution that all the Accords would be implemented.

The reorganisation of the North-East is yet to be completed. The tribal groups have to be given self-rule within the boundaries of Assam. I am not for the bifurcation of Assam; I am not for the disintegration or dismemberment of Assam. Within Assam, all the tribal groups must be given autonomy under the provisions of the Constitution, whether it is under the Sixth Schedule or under Article 244A.

An Upper House should be created in Assam so that all the tribal groups can be represented there. We have a Legislative Council in Bihar, in UP and in many other States. There is a proposal which has already been passed by the Legislative Assembly of Assam. My request is that Parliament should pass an Act so that the Upper House is create in Assam in which all the tribal groups can be represented.

My next point is regarding the economic package for the North-East. The previous Government announced something; this Government has also announced something. But these are not implemented. When I asked whether these economic packages were additional packages or an amount calculated for five years as the normal Planning Commission's grant, the answer was not clear. If it is a normal grant calculated for five years and announced whenever a Prime Minister assumes office, then, it is like a post-dated cheque in a dying bank. It is like hoodwinking the North-East. So, the Government must say categorically whether this Rs. 6,000 crore package is an additional grant or a normal grant, calculated and declared in advance.

My point is that money alone does not matter. The North-East has got enormous potentialities because of its geographical location. It is surrounded by China and Myanmar and it is a border State. We should not look at it as if it might be taken over by some other country. We should analyse it from another point. From the North-East, we can approach East Asia and South-East Asia very easily. So, the North-East has the potential to become the gateway of India to East Asia and also to South-East Asia. Just like Mumbai which is a gateway to India, the North-East should be made the gateway of India to East Asia and to South-East Asia by promoting trade and commercial contact through this region. I have many other points but I would conclude and thank you once again.



SHRI I.D. SWAMI

SHRI I.D. SWAMI (Karnal) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, thank you very much for allowing me to participate in this historic debate, though it is late in the night. We are reminded that when we became Independent, it kindled hopes of a better life for the lowliest, for the lost and for the last, believing as they did in *sarvodaya, justice antyodaya,* and fairplay.

The preamble, fundamental rights, directive principles and fundamental duties added in 1976 obligated the Republic to abide by socialistic, humanistic, compassionate pollution free principles as fundamentals for the governance of the country. Those directive principles directed that it shall be the duty of the State to apply these principles in making laws, but the leading echelons of the authorities whether in the States or at the Centre, slurred over these profound commitments. The preamble was that we resolve for a sovereign, democratic Republic. In 1976, in our wisdom, we thought we must add 'socialist and secular', though the forefathers, the Constitution makers did not deem it necessary at that time to add socialist as well as secular. I do not know what doubts were raised at that time. But one thing is very sure that we wanted a Democratic Republic so that we can secure for all our citizens, the basic unit, for which all those pious and profound commitments were made. They were only for the individual citizen. So, we draw inference that keeping in view the spirit of the Constitution which is reflected in the preamble and which is also the guiding light for the Constitution, the individual citizen should be the unit for all our policies, programmes and laws. And not any religion or caste to which he belongs. This takes us to the next inference that nothing should be conceded to one religious group or organisation which is denied to or not made available to other groups or organisations belonging to other religion. So, the preamble as enshrined in our Constitution gave us a clear path to take the individual as the basic unit. We must, at least, after fifty years of Independence, deal with specifics. What ought to be done in regard to the articles of the Constitution like Article 25 and 26 which deal with the freedom of religion and certain other articles like Articles 29 and 30 which deal with the question of minority institutions had already been given.

There were certain articles under Chapter IV, the Directive Principles of State Policy. Fundamental rights have been given to the citizens which are justiciable and which can be enforced by the courts of law. On Directive Principles a full chapter was written by the Constitution-makers for the State, the local bodies, the Centre, the Judiciary, the Legislature, and the Executive. What happened to those Directive Principles? Some of those directive principles were having economic bearing, some were having social bearing and some of them were having cultural and historical bearing. It is said that the State shall strive to minimise the inequalities in income, and endeavour to eliminate inequalities in status, facilities and opportunities, not only amongst individuals but also amongst groups of people residing in different areas or engaged in different vocations and that children are given opportunities and facilities to develop in a healthy manner and in conditions of freedom and dignity and that childhood and youth are protected against exploitation and against moral and material abandonment by the enforcing prohibition in the country. There are so many other things like free and compulsory education, providing free legal aid, prohibition, ensuring a decent standard of life etc.

All these things are meant for protecting the weaker sections of the society; all these things are given in the Directive Principles; and a direction was given that this would be kept in view at the time when the laws are made, when legislation pass laws the Executive makes the rules or administers this country. The only forbidance or the only provision or the only restriction was that we could not go to the courts to get them achieved. Unfortunately, by ignoring the Directive Principles, inequalities of income grew and many other infirmities crept in.

Many a time, we believe that whenever we talk of the Common Civil Code, immediately we go back to the syndrome of minority and majority. We never think of the individuals; we never think of the Directive Principles; we have been ignoring them all through. Now at least, after 50 years, we should remind ourselves and we should take a pledge that now after 50 years of Independence, the Directive Principles enshrined in the Constitution as the fundamental governing principles, though non-justiciable, are adopted so that all the infirmities in the society are removed; economic and social progress is achieved; and cultural and historical aims and ideals are also achieved for the countrymen.

When we talk of Article 44 of the Constitution, immediately we start thinking that this would not be a feasible one for the present even after 50 years because a certain section of the society may not be willing to accept it or may not be very easily agreeing to it. But that is not the question. The question is what are the directions given by the makers of the Constitution? The Supreme Court – not only in *Shah Banu* case, but earlier and later to that also – has been again and again saying that for the integrity an unity of the country, all these things are essential. I have no dispute about a particular Article of the Directive Principles, but we have to take all the Directive Principles together, such as, economic, social, cultural and historical, then only we will be able to usher in a welfare State and give this country an egalitarian society. Without that, it is not possible to have it; we can have a *laissez-faire* State; we can have a capital State.

Look at the fate when in 1976 we added the word 'socialist'. Earlier to that we were talking of a socialist pattern of society. We were also talking about the mixed economy. But in 1976, we thought it should be made very amply clear, unequivocal and unambiguous that it should be a socialist State. But what have we done from 1991 onwards? From 1991 onwards, we have gone back, gone forward much ahead, but in the other direction, on the capitalist side, on *laissez-faire* State side. We have abandoned socialism and we have gone to liberalisation and globalisation. Many of our hon. friends have talked about it and I need not dwell upon it. But that is the mistake and that is where we go wrong.

Similarly, in this very House many a time, we have discussed and agreed to it also, sometimes in controversy and sometimes really in sincerity, that we must have a discussion on secularism in this country because every day what we find is that the only definition of secularism becomes 'one calling the other communal'. The pseudo-secularism has come to stay in this country. I do not know whether it, by chance escaped our attention; but I feel that they should have included secularism also as one of the subjects for discussion. We should have defined secularism because the fathers of our Constitution, the makers of the Constitution, the noble leaders of the era did not think it necessary to add secularism because this country never accepted theocracy when we became independent because we knew that this country, by its very nature, by its history of 5000 years, by its siptures, by its Sufism, by the preaching of seers and saints, is a secular State all through the ages.

So, there was no need of the word secular. But we must now what secularism is. I would not dwell much on this. Only one thing I would submit here. We are now talking about judicial activism.

Some of the very learned and senior hon. Members talked about the sovereign Parliament and that they are encroaching upon our rights and sovereignty.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude.

SHRI I.D. SWAMI : It is three days that we have been waiting upto seven o'clock and now it is two o'clock at night. Kindly bear with us. I have only one or two points and nothing more. I will not go beyond two points.

When we talk of an egalitarian society or when we talk of the Directive Principles and when we come to practising democracy, we are proud that we have been able to maintain the democratic structure of the country. When countries all around us changed, we have stuck to a it despite aberrations here and there. We have stuck to democratic set up. But all the same, when we come to practising democracy, what type of democracy have we been practising? We should not blame the judiciary. We should not think that judicial activism is encroaching on our rights but we should introspect and we should look within us about the polity of vote bank and polity of caste. ...*(Interruptions)*... Judicial activism or judicial populism, whatever you may call it, let us introspect and see why judiciary had to enter into our arena and why they have to give these findings. When politics of vote banks enters, when politics of castes and sub-castes and all these things enter, when politics of self-interest, politics of me and mine are there, when politics are not based on ideology, when they are not based on policies, when they are not an honest politics, when political power is taken only as a means for self-aggrandisement and not for the service of the country an society, then certainly somebody has to tell us that we are going wrong.

I am reminded of an Urdu couplet. When we talk of criminalisation of politics, when we talk of politicisation of the criminals, when we talk of consumerism, when we talk of affluence, when we talk of the rat race in globalisation and liberalisation, when we talk of the three Gods, that is, IMF, World Bank and the WTO, then we must remember what would come to this country would be nothing but ruination. Though I know that in this great country we may decay and the society may decay and degenerate but the country would stay and would prosper. I am not a pessimist. I am not a prophet of doom but all the same, when all these things enter, then

'Jaraim ki siyasat daulat ki barayami
Jaraim ki siyasat daulat ki barayami
Tabahi la kar rahegi, Tabahi ruk nahin sakti'

When we see that criminals would be coming, then the Election Commission says that 40 of us are criminals. When they say that 700 of the legislators in the Assemblies are criminals, when they say that 1500 were there but, thank God, that they got defeated but otherwise, instead of 40, there might have been 200 here. ...*(Interruptions)*... I skip over many things.

But all this ultimately comes to a name. I go back to Article 1. In Article 1, the amount of mental slavery and the amount of thinking is reflected. We have not been able to amend Article 1 today. Regarding Article 1, I suggest that we should make an amendment and at least give a name to the country which is its due. In establishing the national identity, the name of the country has a good significance. Our country has the oldest history of humanity, civilisation and culture and have a greater significance than any other country. One may say, "What difference does it make? A rose would be called by the name rose." ...*(Interruptions)*. The simple name, Bharat, was given to this country. It was not given today or 5000 years back but much earlier in the days of Atharva Veda. The youngest of the four Vedas of our land begins with the *mantra* that is chanted all over the country today and has been chanted so far for centuries. It describes the location of the country as Jambudweepa, Bharatwartha, Bharakhande and Merodhakshana Parsve.

All this is continent of Jamboo, the land of Bharat, the territory of King Bharat, south of Mount Meru. All this was enough. There was no necessity of writing 'Bharat', that is, 'India'.

My submission to this House through you would be that at least after 50 years, let us correct this mistake in article 1. It was only the myopic Western view which was unfortunately accepted by many of our educated people. In this golden jubilee year, let us amend article 1. Let us call this great country by the name 'Bharat' and not 'India', that is, 'India' need not be there.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Now, Shri Narayan Athawalay will speak.

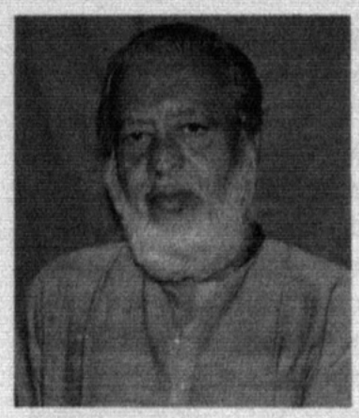
[Translation]

SHRI SUKDEO PASWAN (Arariya) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I want to say because at the time when Shrimati Rita Verma ji was in the Chair, my turn should have come at that point of time but that has been changed again. I am forced to express my grievance that I have not been given a chance to speak so far.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Do you want to say something about my ruling?

SHRI SUKDEO PASWAN : Yes, I want to speak.

MR. CHAIRMAN : What do you want to speak? Don't have I got discretionary powers? You, please sit down. I have already called the name of Narayan Athawalay ji.



SHRI NARAYAN ATHAWALAY

02.00 hrs.

*SHRI NARAYAN ATHAWALAY (Mumbai North Central) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I welcome the discussion which we are having in the House. I would like to speak in my mother tongue Marathi though I can speak in Hindi because as Shri Mulayam Singh Yadav pointed out that Lok Sabha should be a multi-lingual body. I fully support this contention of Shri Mulayam Singh Yadav. That is why I would like to express my viewpoint in Marathi.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Mr. Athawalay, have you given notice?

SHRI NARAYAN ATHAWALAY : Yes Sir, I have given the notice.

As I said just now, I welcome the discussion which we are having in the House. It is not enough to know sentiments of old people regarding this issue but we should also know aspirations of young people. Therefore, there should be discussion at all levels in the country on the issues we are discussing in the House. Young people should be allowed to participate in this discussion. This country became independent. We are celebrating 50th anniversary of our independence. And yet Hon. Speaker feels the need of second freedom struggle. From this it is clear that though the country became independent, actual independence did not reach to the common man. The dynamism which is there in a free nation, is not found in our nation inspite of having huge population. We have democracy, yet people's power is not manifest in its vibrant form. People do not have strength to fight for their rights. They do not have self respect.

This situation has been aptly described by Shiv Sena Chief as 'wretched democracy'. The so called democrats are angry over this expression. But that democracy which does not arouse sensibility of people, does not create self respect, does not create will to fight against injustice, cannot but be called 'wretched democracy'. The common man who is the pivot of democracy has remained neglected in these fifty years. He cannot stand with head held High. This country is democratic but majority of the people did not get power. Those who captured power, deceived the poor and common people of the country.

What is the condition of the youth of this country who has to shoulder the responsibility of making this country strong. Educated and technically trained youth of this country are fleeing to other countries for want of opportunities in this country and those young persons with little education and depending only on physical skill are becoming unemployed. As he cannot sustain himself in a village, he is migrating to a city and getting trapped in vicious circle of city life. We did not think in which disciplines and skills young persons should be trained. Even now, we have not applied our minds to it. Education also has become a profitable and commercial proposition in this country. Some politicians have set up educational institutions which are like factories giving fake education. Thereby they have only deceived the young generation. That is why the number of educated unemployed persons who are graduates is swelling.

We proudly speak of the principles of freedom, equality and fraternity. But after independence, instead of moving on the path of equality, we treaded the path of inequality. Fair price shops are run in our villages but the poor people do not have money even to purchase foodgrains from fair price shops. They have to starve for almost half of their life. But even then when a car manufacturing company comes out with a new mode of car, our banks are ever ready to give lakhs of rupees as loan for purchasing cars. The politicians who talk of equality have created nothing but inequality in this country.

During the pre-independence period, the Congress Session used to be preceded by the session of Social Council which pleaded for social democracy for enabling an individual to shoulder his responsibility in free India. This was the beginning of the concept of social democracy which was later on pleaded by Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar. But after getting independence nobody felt the need of social council.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, there are many new problems which confront us. We will have to show the courage to face

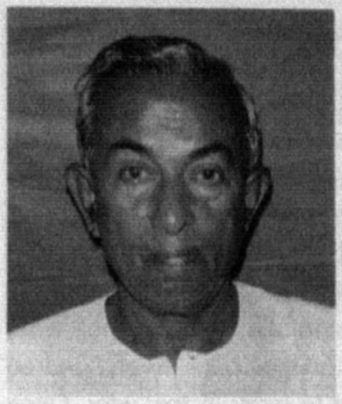
*Translation of the speech originally delivered in Marathi.

these problems. There are many problems which are old yet they have been kept pending for vested political interest. Some of these problems have assumed serious proportion. Question of Chandigarh, Gurkha land, atrocities in adivasi area, Jharkhand question, Bodo question are only a few to mention. But the oldest of these questions and which is a stigma of our democracy is a question which is related to the State of Maharashtra. Maharashtra had to fight with the Union Government for having a State of Marathi speaking people and also for maintaining geographical area. There was a game plan that the city of Mumbai should not be part of Maharashtra. Even now some politicians rake up this issue on some pretext or other.

40 lakh Marathi speaking people have not merged in Maharashtra even today. Maharashtra-Karnataka border question is hanging fire for the past 35 years. Though the Marathi people from that area are clamoring for it, their demand is neglected. The Union Government is trampling the democratic rights for vested political interest. Marathi people of this area are treated as slaves. The development of this area is also not taken into account. All the rights granted by the constitution are trampled upon in the border area. The people living on the border adopted all democratic means like petition, morcha, 'dharnas', fast, satyagraha and demonstrations. The people made their opinion known in all the elections. But deliberately this question is neglected. The Union Home Minister says that this problem should be solved. But some persons who are guided by self interest are saying that this is not a problem at all. I request that those people who only talk of social justice should give justice to these people living in border area.

I discussed this problem in some details as an example. But there are many such 'old wounds'. But those who are in power dare not solve these problems. The petty politics of keeping the problems pending for selfish motive should stop now in this country. This problem must be solved once for all by keeping national interest in view. Once this supreme House takes a decision on this issue, it will have to be accepted by all concerned.

Hon. Speaker has given a call for second freedom struggle. Let the problems with which sentiments of lakhs of people are involved and which are hanging fire for several decades be solved. Let us resolve to solve the pending problems in a definite time frame when we are going to start the second freedom struggle. With these words, I conclude my speech.



SHRI RAMASHRAYA PRASAD SINGH

SHRI RAMASHRAYA PRASAD SINGH (Jahanabad) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I thank you for giving me an opportunity to speak after waiting for three days.

This Special session has been called on the occasion of golden jubilee of Independence. I appreciate and thank the Hon'ble Speaker for his maiden speech and the Resolution moved by him at a time when the country is at the cross roads. This special session has been convened to do introspection of the achievements and failures of the past fifty years.

Several hon. Members of all the parties have spoken on the achievements and failures. In their speeches, they have said that India has made progress. Some figures have also been given in this regard. However, the issues which should have been given more attention were left out. Nothing has been said about the issues other than development during the fifty years. Today corruption is rampant in the country. What is the reasons for this? When the rein of the country came to our hands after Independence, we didn't arouse the feeling of patriotism in the hearts of the people and we ourselves didn't become true patriots. Had we been true patriots and inculcated the feeling of patriotism in the hearts of the people, then we would not have been raising the corruption issue time and again and the Prime Minister would not have said that we should undertake *satyagraha* to check corruption. We made politics a business, ruled the country through it and accumulated as much wealth as we could and even stashed away a part of it in foreign banks. Even then we claim that we are patriots. I would like to say that the corruption has eaten into the vitals of the administration and the society and unless it is controlled, we can't make any important programme a success. It has become necessary to strengthen the administrative and political machinery and we need to develop a new system so as to properly deal with corruption.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, what are the reasons for the rapid increase in terrorist activities in the country? I think economic disparity alone has given rise to terrorism. To what extent we have been able to remove this disparity in all these

years? Did the youth who laid their lives for the Independence of the country ever think that economic disparity and corruption would increase and a handful of people would reap economic benefits? There are still many people in the country, who have gained nothing from the Independence of the country. We may say anything here, but this is the ultimate truth. Everybody knows very well and I have seen myself also that in Jharkhand, which is called a tribal region, tribal women still attend to their work while carrying a 15 day old baby on their back. Even hundred years back, these women used to work in this way. Once I went to Orissa along with a committee. There I saw the hungry people cutting and taking home the grass which was grown in the mountains. When I asked them about its use, they replied that they would boil and eat it. Still we can see such scenes in our country. The people who are ruling the country have done nothing for the farmers. This is the situation when our country is an agriculture based country. They say that they have brought green revolution in the country but it were the farmers who brought green revolution through hard work and on their own strength. But what the government has done for them? Still we have a large area of fertile land. But there is no water for irrigation despite the fact that we have plenty of rivers. If we wanted, we could have generated power from these rivers and made the country prosperous and powerful by providing irrigation facilities to the farmers and thus, become a great country in the world. There is no doubt about it. The spirits of those martyrs who laid their lives for the country, may be watching these people who in the name of patriotism, have been ruling the country according to their whims. The Members might have seen some statues and photos of some youths carrying flags outside the Bihar Legislative Assembly. The people who take false oath in front of these statues are ruling the country. It is worth thinking whether these people, who have taken oath to rule the country honestly, have actually ruled the country honestly. Today is indeed a memorable day. This special session will run for four days. We should admit honestly that we have indeed accumulated plenty of money and we should return it or use it for the welfare of poor people, who are backward and illiterate. How the democracy of the country can be strengthened where 46 crore people are illiterate? But these people, who are ruling the country are not serious about strengthening the democracy. They want to befool the people and rule the country. They are enjoying their life like anything, whereas the farmers are unhappy. We have plenty of rivers in our country. We should atleast give a thought on this and we should construct dams and generate power. If this water is provided to the farmers for irrigation purposes, the entire country would become prosperous. Today unemployment is rapidly increasing in the country. This is the only reason that our country is not prospering. We have army to fight with external forces. But now, we are using the army to supress the agitations/movements in the villages. The poor youths who are unemployed are taking arms in their hands. Today, we are sending our army into these villages. The army is not meant for this. Do they want to rule the nation through the army? Earlier, these people adopted various ways of ruling the country. They even ruled the country with the help of criminals and now they want to rule the country with the help of army.

MR. CHAIRMAN : You please conclude your speech.

SHRI RAMASHRAYA PRASAD SINGH : I am concluding. If the country unites, a new revolution will take place and the country would march forward. With these words, I conclude my speech in compliance of your orders.

SHRI S.K. KARVENDHAN

*SHRI S.K. KARVENDHAN (Palani) : Hon'ble Chairman Sir, we are now celebrating the fiftieth year of our independence. In a befitting manner we are holding a special commemorative session of Parliament and we look back at achievements we have made and look ahead of the future of the country. I thank the Chair for giving me an opportunity to speak on this historic occasion.

We now recall the sacrifices made by our leaders in the freedom struggle. We think of Mahatma Gandhiji. As far as South is concerned we now recall the days of Veerapandia Kattabomman and the contributions made by Kamaraj, Periyar, Sathyamoorthy, Rajaji, Subramania Siva, Subramania Bharathi, V.O. Chidambaram Pillai, Tiruppur Kumaran and all others.

What was the state of our economy at the time when we won our freedom. Even a pin was to be imported from foreign countries. Such was our industrial growth. In these fifty years our economy has met with changes. We have made progress in economy and developed our scientific advancement.

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*Translation of the Speech originally delivered in Tamil.

I would like to specifically concentrate on agriculture. When we won freedom, our food production was inadequate. We were dependent on foreign countries and we imported foodgrains. In 1949-50, level of our agricultural produce was 549.2 lakh tonnes. In 1993-94 it had touched a mark of 1827 lakh tonnes. Likewise, the Rice production which was 625 lakhs in 1985-86 had increased to 800 lakh tonnes in the year 1993-94. Such an amount of effort has been made by our farmers to increase our agricultural production. It has been almost doubled every decade.

At this juncture, I would like to bring to your notice the plight of our farmers and agriculturists. Do we find improvement in the living standards of these hard working tillers of the soil? Do we safeguard the interests of Indian farmers? Do we extend any welfare measure that would greatly benefit our agriculturists? I am pained to point out that our Governments both at the Centre and the States have failed to provide adequate facilities and to extend enough of support to our peasants. I would be failing in my duty if I do not mention about the inadequate support prices we give to our farmers. The incentives and subsidiaries and other grants we may have to give are not at all sufficient. They do not percolate down to the farming community and reach the tillers and cultivators.

We give subsidy to fertilisers used by our farmers. For instance, DAP fertilisers get a subsidy of Rs. 3000 per tonne. But the benefit of this subsidy goes to the manufacturing units rather than the agriculturists. Even after this incentive with subsidy such fertilizers are sold at a higher price in the market. Not only this. Take for instance sugar cane. The support price given to the sugar cane growers very from State to State. It is not uniform throughout the country.

I would like to point out yet another cruel treatment meted out to our farmers. Right from the British days and even in this free India we find the agriculturists are subjected to forcible recovery of loans by attachment proceedings. In the name of attachment proceeding poor. Farmers are deprived of their hard earned assets. Confiscation of property is resorted to putting the farmers to great inconvenience. Loans are given to farmers in a meagre and trickling form. Even for three years consecutively action to secure the loan amount is not taken. All of a sudden at the end of three years confiscation process starts subjecting farmers to great torture. And within a day they are asked to pay back three times of the loan amount they had taken. This sudden action and deprivation is a great dishonouring act that greatly affect the social life of these agricultural community. This cruel and evil act of attachment recovery process should come to an end all over the country.

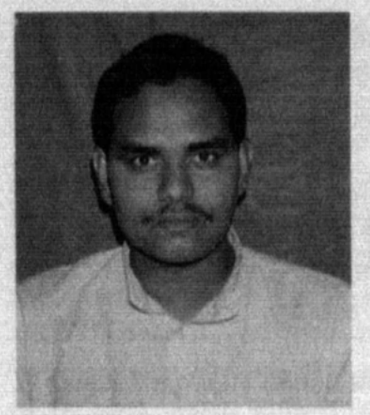
Today only in Tamil Nadu we get electricity free of cost for agricultural purposes. I urge upon the Union Government to create a conducive atmosphere to provide free electricity to all the farmers all over the country.

Nextly, I would like to point out an important aspect of our national life. Though it may be called activism, our judiciary is boldly taking certain measures which are welcome. At times, it may inconvenience the Government both at the Centre and the States but they unfailingly bring to light, with effective curbing measures, the lacunae in the administration. Our judiciary is doing a wonderful job.

Both during our independent struggle days and in our democratic era in the form of Parliamentary system, our advocates and lawyers take part in our national life in a big way. But the living conditions of lawyers in the rural areas are not satisfactory. They are professing law in the cause of poor rural masses but a lot needs to be done to improve the living conditions of these lawyers who live in the mofussil towns and rural areas.

As part of our Golden jubilee celebrations, the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu has recently formed a law university and has named it after Dr. B.R. Ambedkar in the memory of that great leader and legal luminary. In order to extend social welfare measures to advocates living in poor conditions an amount of Rs. 1 lakh is provided to legal professional welfare fund scheme in Tamil Nadu Bar Council only. All India Bar Council is taking measures to streamline the legal profession. So they have made it compulsory to have one year legal training in the profession as part of the five year law degree course. At a time when both the All India body and the State bodies of the Bar Councils face financial crunch this new regulation can be reconsidered. We must have a fresh look.

Towards the end, I would like to highlight the impact of corruption on common man even in the rural areas. The lower level staff of the Government with their corrupt practices cause great hardship to people from all walks of life irrespective of their being scheduled castes in the lower strata of the society. I wish our Government takes effective steps to curb the menace of corruption in our social life. This must be addressed to our Government and this Parliament. This will help the people to enhance their living standards. This should be our commitment to improve the lot of our people. With this, I conclude.



SHRI VISHAMBHAR PRASAD NISHAD

SHRI VISHAMBHAR PRASAD NISHAD (Fatehpur) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I have been given an opportunity to express my views in this special session of Parliament convened to mark the occasion of the 50th year of our Independence at a time when the entire nation is in deep slumber and all our honourable Members are putting their heads together to formulate plans and schemes for the next 50 years for the benefit of the future generation.

On the occasion, when we are making plans and schemes for the next 50 years, I would like to stress on the point that majority of the people have been deliberately made backwards by usurping their due share and rights as a result of which their condition is the same today as it was when the Britishers quit India. Even after 50 years of our independence their condition continues to be the same.

I pay my obeisance to those who struggled and made sacrifice during our freedom struggle. I also pay my tributes to those great personalities like Eklavaya, Sant Kabir, Sant Guru Ravi Das, Chhatrapati Sahuji Maharaja, Jyotirao Phule, and father of the Indian Constitution Baba Saheb Ambedkar etc. who awakened the backward people from their age old slumber. These leaders launched social and economic movements to remove superstitions, casteism, conservatism and caste and religion based social system which had caused immense damage to our society and nation. Their intention was the welfare of the majority of the people but certain people tried to perpetuate the system for their vested interests but those who had suffered constantly under the caste system wanted to remove this system. The caste bails in our society is so strong that a SC/ST or OBC person has to bear insult in our caste based society even if he has become an officer or an M.P. or M.L.A.

The dream which we visualised at the time of Independence is still unfulfilled. The condition of our villages is quite pathetic. Our leaders had thought that our villages would prosper and develop and become self relient in matters of food cloth and shelter in the free India but what has happened is contrary. The condition of our villages has deteriorated fast in free India. What has changed is that those who were landlords, capitalists, and kings in the old order have now become MLAs and MPs and continue to exploit the backward classes despite adoption of the new constitution.

There is dual system in all walks of life in our society. This is very much evident in the field of education where the children of poor people study in government schools and those of elite class in convent schools. There is still a large number of villages where there are no schools. There is dual system in the ration distribution system. For the distribution of ration different criteria are being adopted for rural and urban area. In villages, 250 grams per unit sugar is given whereas in cities per unit 1 kg. sugar is distributed. How long we want to continue this system. Those who have been in the previous governments and are also those in the present government should think over it and remove this dual system. Unless and until we ponder over it, we can not go ahead nor can we do any good to the poor.

We have in our country 130 crores hectare cultivable land out of which cultivation is done only on 40 crore hectares of land. If the remaining 90 crore hectares of agricultural land, which is being unused, is provided with irrigation facilities and is distributed among the poor, this will solve one problem of foodgrains to the large extent. There are crores of people who do not have any land and die so what kind of a free country this is! This is an irony. If we provide water for irrigation to every agriculture field, then we would become self relient in the production of food grains...*(Interruptions)* I have spoken hardly for four-five minutes. Why are you ringing the bell? I am a new member and have got first opportunity to speak in this august House.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Your party's time is over, you should not have any misunderstanding on this account.

SHRI VISHAMBHAR PRASAD NISHAD : No, Sir, I can just make a request to you. If the surplus land is distributed among the poor people then it would provide work to every hand and those having plough and oxen would get a field for cultivation and it will bring prosperity in the country. If we provide irrigation facility to every agriculture field, it will bring prosperity and progress in the society. But it is quite unfortunate to see that due attention has not been paid to the villages. Just a little while ago our defence Minister was making a reference of Kewat, Mallah and Nishad and a 14 years old boy swims across 6 kms. in the ocean and comes back and he should take part in swimming competition. He raised a very good point and I also support him but today he is not present in the House and I through you, would like to say that he is Union Defence Minister at present and no one can better serve one navy than Kewats, Mallahs and Nishads. Why does he not give reservation to kewats

Mallahs and Nishads in the navy. But he wants to impress upon them that he is their well wisher by giving a political speech. But in reality he does not intent to do anything for them. I know when natural calamities struck the nation then these Kewats, Mallahs, Nishads and fisherman play a very important role in saving the lives of people. Recently, a storm struck in Andhra Pradesh and 5000 people are reported to have disappeared and the Government has not done anything to locate them and did not pay any compensation to them and they were not considered even citizens of India.

Likewise crores of people are living on the banks of rivers and the Government does not feel any concern for their social and economic problems. They live in thatched houses. They should be settled on higher places and provided pucca houses. Then they will feel like living in free India.

In 1972 when Indira Gandhi was the Prime Minister, she had constituted a fishermen Welfare Fund but nobody knows as to for whose welfare this fund is being used. At least, I do not know anything about it. I want to plead earnestly that the Government should do something to improve the lot, of socially backward people.

I want to put forth my views on certain issues. Fatehpur area has been the constituency of Kings, Prime Minister or son of Prime Minister and people had thought that the basic problems of roads, electricity and drinking water will be solved but to their utter dismay nothing has happened. We have not been able to provide any facility. Not only for that area but for people of entire country. I would like to say that these four or five points are important and all the honourable Members have expressed their concern about these. Education should be made compulsory and free for every girl and boy upto 10th class. Free medical facility should be provided and every person should be guaranteed employment. Unemployment allowance should be given to unemployed persons.

Apart from it, a survey should be conducted to identify people of backward classes, minority, socially and economically backward classes and also for providing reservation and some other special facilities so that they could make progress. Earlier in monarchy rule sons of king were heir to the throne but now democratic system has been adopted and under the constitution of India Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar has provided the people of this country with right to vote. But even now those people are elected MPs, Prime Minister or Chief Minister of the State on the basis of their money, media and mafia power. It should be checked. Every citizen of independent India should be provided with right to vote and security. Earlier the slogan of food, clothing and shelter was raised but for prosperity and progress of this country. We should change it as education, security and respectable status for every citizen.

I will conclude just after making one or two points. I remember the words of Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar. He had said that "This fact cannot be denied that certain people enjoyed monopoly on political horizon of this country and majority of our people not only bore the burden but also were victimized." This is the position of our country. I would like to convey my message for the next generation that this mistake should not be repeated. Education, security, respect, irrigation facility for every field and employment for everybody should be provided in this country.

With these words I conclude and thank you for allowing me to speak.

SHRI DILEEP SINGH BHURIA

SHRI DILEEP SINGH BHURIA (Jhabua) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I thank you for allowing me to speak in this special session held on the occasion of golden jubilee celebration of Independence in India. I would like to say something about tribals living in forests and hilly areas. Gandhiji had called them Adivasi and also taken an active part in freedom struggle.

I come from district Jhabua which is birth place of Chandra Shekhar Azad who lived with tribals and had taken active part in freedom struggle. 85 per cent population of Jhabua is tribal but we cannot know much about their historical background because they are illiterate and who else other than themselves could write about them. They fought against exploitation and injustice with the help of their bow and arrows. Whether they were killed as Shahid Shankar Shah or as queen Durgawati who sacrificed their lives. Description of Veer Narayan Singh, Birsa Munda and battle of Haldi Ghati may take hours but I do not want to waste the time of the House.

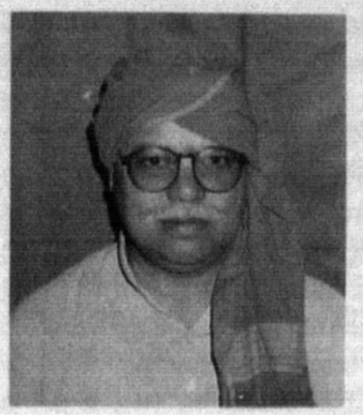
They fought for freedom so that their own administration could be set up for their development. The Governments framed many schemes, policies and programmes but we

could not get success to the desired extent. Today, I was studying the report of welfare ministry. There is 18 per cent literacy in tribals and just 4 per cent in women. As many other members have also mentioned that today resentment is prevailing among tribals whether they are from Bodoland, Jharkhand, Vidarbha or any other areas. Why this has happened! The main reason for it is that enormous mineral wealth like iron coal and diamond and copper is being extracted from tribal areas in the country, huge trees are grown there and rivers pass through forests. Our scientists developed new technology and the government acquired land from tribals for extraction of minerals. The tribals of the area were given some compensation for shifting their residence. The economy of tribals depend upon forest. Earlier they were self sufficient and used to hunt and consume roots and fruits of trees. They were treated as king of forests like lion. With depletion of mineral resources, their employment system shattered. They were not educated so they began to extinct. The main problem is that they do not get electricity generated in their own area. The T.V. manufactured by iron extracted from their area has not benefited them. Granite a precious stone extracted from tribal area is not used by them. This is their struggle for development. They fought kings and Britishers against injustice and exploitation. The whole India has adopted culture of foreign countries but tribals do not want to mix with others. I would like to say that under sixth schedule of the constitution they should be given power to rule themselves. The constitution of India and Mahatma Gandhi both advocated equality but tribals were discriminated during last 50 years whether it is the matter of providing facility for education, economic upliftment, construction of roads, drinking water or electricity. They want to live in India itself. They wish that power should be handed over to them under the sixth schedule. They should be made responsible for their development and management of their resources whether it is land, forest, ground water, administrative, economic or educational system. I would like to say that a patient is operated if he is not cured by tablets and medicine, in the same way providing autonomy and power to tribals is the only way out for development of tribals and realisation of Gandhiji's dream of swaraj because we have seen the impact of our policies and programmes during the past 50 years.

Poverty is the curse for the whole world. It is a good thing that hon. Speaker has stated here to fight another struggle for economic freedom. There is a wide gap between rich and poor in our country. A large number of people live along railway lines and their children live in a dilapidated condition and we could not provide proper facility to them. You are raising the issue of population growth. Our neighbouring country China has more population than us. All the development plans which we have made in our country have been left to the non-committed bureaucrats for implementation. I would like to ask whether till now we have made any arrangement for drinking water and education to the people. We need bureaucrats who are committed to development. If the bureaucrats are not committed, we may pass huge budget in the Parliament, have a long discussion on development or make any law to assist the people, the benefits would not reach the people. A lot of water is going waste in our rivers. We can construct dams on them and provide irrigation facilities to the farmers. The poor villagers are not indulged in the corruption but those who know law are indulged in corruption. We are remembering those leaders after fifty years to bring about a social revolution. We have developed a system and prepared an atmosphere in our country but who is looting the funds and for whom? When China can manage it, why India cannot? Everything is available in our country and there is no dearth of anything. But even then our country is ranking 134th among 173 countries of the world. Poverty is a curse for us. If today we sit late at night upto 2-3 o'clock, other people, who are having sound sleep, are hopeful and confident that some concrete would come out of this discussion. Mahatma Gandhi had said that there were some other important reasons for poverty and backwardness. Eradication of poverty should be top on national agenda. If we, all take such a resolve in the Parliament then, no power of the world can stop us from doing so. There should be no difference between our words and deeds. The country got the freedom under the leadership of Rashtrapita Mahatma Gandhi. They called the poor as Daridranarayan. They treated them Daridranarayan and visited their huts. He was a Barrister and rich man and educated in London, but he spent his whole life in poverty. We should also present such ideal. We cannot touch the stature of Gandhiji but if we would present such examples, the people of urban and rural areas would try to follow the path of Gandhiji. If we determine to do so, no power on earth can prevent us from marching ahead.

Gandhiji treated the poor as Daridranarayan and preached us to serve them to attain independence. We have forgotten his preachings. If we want to celebrate the golden jubilee in economic terms, we should think seriously for the upliftment of the poor. I think that all hon. friends will agree that there should not be difference between our words and deeds. If we all come together to strengthen our country, no power of the world can stop us from making progress.

Sir, I am thankful to you for allowing me to speak at the midnight. With these words I conclude.



PROF. OMPAL SINGH 'NIDAR'

PROF. OMPAL SINGH 'NIDAR' (Jalesar) : Mr. Chairman, my turn has come on forty five minutes past two o'clock and I think we have sufficient time. I will speak on a different line because it is an incomplete special session of the golden jubilee of incomplete freedom of divided India. It is incomplete in a sense that many hon. Members will be deprived of expressing their views in these four days. Had it been a longer session to provide opportunities to all the hon. Members to express their views, this would have been a complete session. Therefore, it is incomplete all around and now it is being said to make introspection about our achievements and failures. In this regard I would like to quote one couplet.

Vatan ki jo halat batane lagenge,
to pathar bhi ansu bahane lagenge,
Yadi bhid main kho gayi manviyata
use dhundhane main zamane lagenge,
Vatan ki jo halat batane lagenge,
to pathar bhi ansu bahane lagenge.

It is the situation. All the hon. Members have spoken on at length. I will not go in detail. The topic assigned to me is about democracy and democratic institutions. I am directed to speak on the political system of India. Mr. Chairman, under Indian democratic political system, modernization of an old and diversified society is taking place. Political institutions, values and ideas are entering in the disintegrated structure of our diversified society. Indian villages, society, classes and communities, which were far away from political system are now coming closer to the system due to the increasing trend of politicisation. Therefore, it has become essential to study and review the nature, structure and working system of the Indian democratic institutions during last 50 years. In this regard I would like to say in brief. I am counting those democratic institutions which are still active, alive and effective. First of all public, second legislature, third judiciary, fourth public opinion and its psychology, fifth press and sixth fundamental rights, seventh constitutions, eighth morality, ninth character, tenth election, eleventh administration and twelfth political parties. These all are still active. In this regard I would like to go a bit ahead on the point which I made earlier. I will not read out the preamble here. However, whatever I have gathered after going through preamble, I'll describe briefly. The very first reference in the Constitution is to the people. As everyone has spoken on it, I'll not dwell upon it. Secondly, the goals of the state have been declared - justice, liberty, equality and fraternity and these were not the only goals. Apart from these four goals, there were some other goals as well. By freedom, we do not mean only political freedom. Political freedom is only a means. So long as crores of people are not liberated from the fear of starvation, darkness of illiteracy, lack of accommodation, torture and terror, exploitation, atrocities, helplessness and mismanagement, casteism, regionalism, narrow linguistic considerations and communalism; political immorality, injustice and criminals; inflation, seams and corruptions, our dream of attaining political freedom can never be fulfilled. I am adding one more point herewith. Thirdly the Preamble mentions sovereign, democratic Republics State and also talks of liberty, equality, secularism, national unity and integrity. However, people like myself hesitate when integrity is mentioned. What are the reasons for this hesitation? I'will again mention that point because such is my habit. Rather than delivering a long speech, I am making my point in a few lines and I threw a challenge that if my statement is not correct, I should be checked and I will not speak any further. Why I am saying all this about the integrity of the country is because I was speaking of integrity and liberty. I would like to speak a few lines.

"Dekhte hi dekhte gavaya gaya Bang,
Aur vakt haath aaya to milaaya bhi gaya nahin,
Ek lakh shatruon ke shastra dalne ke baad,
Kata Kashmir lautaya bhi gaya nahin,
Daahir naresh ki vasundhara karachi par,
Paavan tiranga fahraaya bhi gaya nahin,
Roj raashtra gaan mein padhayagayya Sindh,
Kintu Hind manchitra mein dikhaya bhi gaya nahin."

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I'd like to elaborate a little more in this context. We have shed many a tears and have also dwelt a lot on our bad points. It may have been a very good show but I am not impressed. Although I don't have the right to criticise anybody but the positive aspects of Indian democracy are still alive. We have not fallen on such bad times that we should get so very worried over it. The first thing we have is a good constitution. We are pretty confident about it. The second plus point is openness in democracy. The third is Parliamentary administrative system 4. Federal set up, 5. Independent judiciary 6. Aware Public 7. Bold journalism. 8. Patriotic middle class 9. Nationalist and patriotic organisations 10. Hard working farmers and

labourers 11. top class scientists 12. lush green and fertile land of India 13. Unity in times of national crisis. Fourteenth plus point is our great culture, values great men and the ideals. Nobody should have doubts in this regard. As I stated just now that my topic is not a very comprehensive one. I have taken up a very small topic—Indian political system. The question arises as to what do we mean by it. What is the meaning of the political identity and culture that has emerged in these fifty years. I would like to say something on this point that Indian administrative system is not just what is given in constitution and it is also not just in its formative stage. Indian administrative system was formed the day the objectives, the resolution and the preamble to the constitution was passed in the Constituent Assembly of India. But, we have to see whether Indian administrative system has been moulded in consonance with or in contravention of the preamble to the Constitution. When we take into consideration the Indian administrative system it would mean taking into consideration the form of administration and the goals of administration. What are the types of policy formation? Which are the factors that affect policy formation. What is the extent of participation of people in the administration. What is the character of administration, the values, character and viewpoint of the people. Administrative system does not stand for co-ordination or throwing together a few posts—that some posts are created and neither it is a mere constitutional formality. There are certain determining factors in our administrative system because politics, society and constitution share a close relationship. Constitution serves as the very basis of society and politics. Politics originates from the society and later on castes its effect on the society itself. Hence the political, economic, social and psychological factors present in Indian society determine the political system and its nature.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, the foremost element is the Indian Constitution. For example, unity in diversity, adult franchise, parliamentary system, federal set up government, the source of power—the people and Independent judiciary. The second point is preamble to constitution. 3. British heritage 4. The problem of unity 5. Principles of adjustment and concurrence 6. Modernisation 7. Religion 8. Casteism 9. communalism 10. Language, Members have expressed their views on this point that is why I have not gone into detailed explanation. The first element that determines the nature of the administrative system is the Prime Minister system which has been pretty powerful. If we leave out the period between 67 and 70 and again 77 and 79 and the recent 15 months. The Prime Minister has remained the focus of attention. Second is that it is in principle a socialist system. This is so in principle and not in practice. As for what is in practice, I am reminded of a couplet written by Adam Godave.

"Kaaju bhare plate mein whisky glass mein,
Utara hai raam raajya vidhayak niwas mein;"

Thirdly, it is in reality a capitalist system. Fourth is the unitary form of the Federal system. The system is federal. There are unitary characterstics unitary citizenship, the division of powers is in favour of the Union Government, the right of the Union Government to intervene in the State affairs and the unified judiciary.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I have listened to all the speakers. They spoke for 30 minutes but I did not intervene.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please donot tell me all that I have got the record.

PROF. OMPAL SINGH 'NIDAR' : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am speaking on a entirely different subject. Neither and I criticising anyone nor am I saying anything to anyone.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Other members have conclude their speeches in 9 minutes. You have taken 11 minutes so far.

PROF. OMPAL SINGH 'NIDAR' : Integrated judiciary, Emergency provisions, one election commission, one constitution, Governors, central government representatives. All India services (5). so called secular system. Not in practice. (6). Predominance of only one party. If we leave out some period, only one party has rule so far and if they tend to shed tears over the present situation I would say that they got ample opportunity. You got your chance for 42 years and in this period you could have brought reforms. What can you do now. Others are also suffering due to your mismanagement. It is not their fault. (7). Democracy and transparency in our political system, (8) devaluation of political institutions, party interest in place of public interest, lack of lengthy discussion on our policies in the Parliament and our Legislative Assemblies, uproar in place of arguments, use of foul words and fighting, to ignore senior judges, harassment of honest and faithful Government servants, protection of corrupt and dishonest officers. (9) Co-existence of traditional and modernisation. (10) Defection. I will not speak on this topic for people themselves are very expert in this matter. (11) Politics of instability and disorder, violent incidents; public agitation, procession, rallies and strike; curfew, desecration of the statues of great leaders and provocative speeches. (12) Dependence on bureaucracy. None of our Prime Ministers can claim that they were not under pressure of some or other bureaucrats since our independence. This situation still persists. (13) power hunger—be it opposition

or other parties, all of them went power at Centre. (14) Confluence of old and new traditions. (15) Blind faith in hero worship. (16) Irresponsible opposition (17) Factionalism (18) Persons, who inspite of not being in the Government, run it or they have unconstitutional access to power. (19) Support of unity in diversity. (20) Casteism (21) Communalism (22) Language dispute (23) Regionalism (24) Promotion of violence and terrorism. I am saying it because today in the morning a speech was delivered wherein very tempting words were used. On the 23rd day of this month, a capable Minister in the Union Government said that in case his party is voted to power in Uttar Pradesh, he would give pension to all the people who are currently in various jails under Gunda Act. When such a capable Minister gives pension to Gundas and turn dacoity and kidnapping into a profession, what message will it convey to our Army. Why will they fight in the war fields? They will leave Army, start professing Gundagardi, go to jail and take a certificate thereof in order to be entitled for Gunda Pension. This is the situation, therefore, let us stop and think as to what do we say and what do we do. (25) Price rise and protection of scams and corruption. (26) Politics of convenience by joining the opportunist political factions. (27) No attention towards nationalism (28) misuse and misinterpretation of Constitution in the interest of party politics. (29) Politics of vote bank by providing reservations.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Now, please conclude.

PROF. OMPAL SINGH 'NIDAR' : Mr. Chairman, Sir, the time allotted to my party still remains. So, I was saying vote of politics by providing reservations. (30) Politicisation of Administration. (31) Criminalisation of politics (32) Promotion of nepotism and dynasty rules (33) Encouragement of criminals. With your kind permission I would like to submit as to what people think about the nexus between politics and crime. People, these days, say — "Dadagiriyon ke Bal Banakar koi dal, Rajniti ke Dangal ke Dhaku Ban Jaiye, Satta Daregi, Tumhara Man, Dhyan Bhi karegi, Sharafat bhi chhod-Chhad Chaku Ban Jaiye." (Form an outfit on the strength of hooliganism, plunge into the field of politics, the power will give you respect and honour. Abandon civility and become a knife). If you want a ticket to fight the Assembly elections, highjack a plane and if you want to fight the Parliamentary elections, become a Bandit queen or Bandit king of chambal. This is the opinion of people. (34) Indiscipline.

03.00 hrs.

(35) Activism of judiciary (36) Political system for exploiting our farmers continuously (37) Successful projection of unsuccessful foreign policy (38) lack of collective responsibility (39) Big difference between practice and profession. (40) Encouragement of consumer culture (41) Giving communal colour to the worship of our national dieties. (42) Demand of autonomy to our various States— which is known to everybody.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please, conclude now.

PROF. OM PAL SINGH 'NIDAR' : I am just concluding Sir (43) Deformed face of Panchayati Raj system in India (44) Feudal elements in politics (45) Hope for a charismatic leadership. (46) Politics of slogans and symbols (47) Politics based on the principle: everything is fair in politics. (48) Politics is a profession (49) Politics of quota, permit and rationing and (50) Politics of begging.

Now if you give me some more time .....

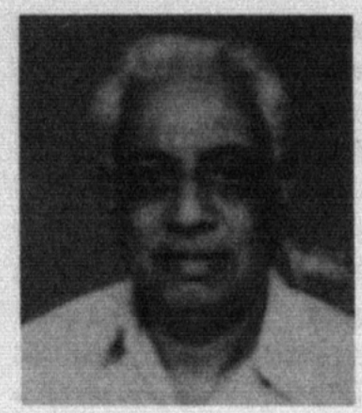
MR. CHAIRMAN : Now conclude with a couplet.

PROF. OMPAL SINGH 'NIDAR' : Give me time to speak a couple of sentences more. In the morning it was said that we have got a great respect for fair sex. But where do we respect our women? Whether the incident of Rampur square in Mujaffarpur was a respect to our women wherein 22 women were raped? Likewise 17 women which included some Muslim and some Harijan women were gangraped at Dada Bhikampur Bhatta in Aligarh district—whether this was a respect shown to our women? Whatever was done in Lucknow on 2nd June, is known to everyone here. I fail to understand the double standard of this Government for they can give tickets to anyone but if BJP give tickets to anyone, he becomes a Goonda and hooligan. I do not understand this double standard.

At least I conclude my speech by reciting the following lines:—

"Gairon ko sudharne ki Bat karne se purv
Thodi si bhi Gairat Hai To khud ko sudhariye.
Dusht Chahe Dal wale Hon Ya Pariwar wale
Sahi Dand Dijiye Na Unhen Puchkariye.
Shasan Mein Lana Chahate Ho Anushasan
To koi Bhi Ho Bhrasht use Pad se Utariye.
Ghotalo ko Rokna Hai Pakshpat Band Karo
Mantri ka bhi Doshi Ho to use goli mariye."

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I have different opinions in some regard. Our is a country dominated not by the farming people but by the power hungry people. There was a time when people of this country used to bath in milk as the milch animal were much in number but since the number of humankind has increased, people have started taking blood-bath. This is the situation.



SHRI SHIVANAND H. KOUJALGI

*SHRI SHIVANAND H. KOUJALGI (Belgaum) : Mr. Chairman Sir, we are celebrating the 50th year of our independence. I thank the Hon'ble Speaker of Lok Sabha for calling this special session of Parliament. This session has given us a golden opportunity to discuss and express our views about the freedom movement in our country.

My senior colleague Shri Sharad Yadav while delivering his speech has demanded a university for the benefit of handicrafts. This is a genuine demand to strengthen artisans and sculptors. Sculptors and handicrafts flourished in Karnataka from time immemorial. There are some ancient structures at Ivalli, Pattadakallu, Deghav, Taluk Bailahongala, Belgaum district, Hooli, Savadatti and other places in my State. These structures have to be protected and the people who are engaged in handicrafts and sculptors should be encouraged. It is our duty to develop such art. The Britishers during their regime had destroyed most of these ancient structures. There are many such rare structures in Karnataka State. It is very essential to protect these structure.

The Archaeological Department is in Hyderabad. A small branch of this Archaeological Department has been set up in Dharwar. This Branch of Archaeological Department has to be expanded to cater to the needs of northern districts of Karnataka State. Then only historical places like Hampi, Badami, Pattadakallu, Itagi, Yelburga District, Lakkundi of Dharwar District, Savadatti and Sirasingi, Savadatti Taluk, Kittur, Bailahongala Taluk and other places can be renovated and reconstructed. Anubhavi Mutt should be renovated at the earliest.

Sir, on this auspicious occasion it is our bounden duty to remember the freedom fighters. Kittur Rani Chennamma fought bravely against Britishers in the year 1857. We should enable the future generations to remember this great warrior. I, therefore, urge upon the Government of India to install a statue of Kittur Rani Chennamma in the capital of our nation, New Delhi. I shall also request the Government that a university should be set up in the name of Kittur Rani Chennamma.

Belavadi Mallamma was also a brave woman fighter. Once, she fought and defeated the Maratha king Shivaji. Her statue should also be installed in New Delhi.

Brave warrior Sangolli Royanna was a staunch supporter of Chennamma. He belonged to Kuruba backward community. His statue also deserves a prime place in New Delhi.

The family members of Chennamma, Sangolli Royanna and Belavadi Mallamma should be rewarded with honorarium.

Seven freedom fighters at Bailahongala became the target of police bullets in the year 1947. They were :

1. Rachappa Erappa Hebballi

2. Ballappa Jakkappa Hirehally

3. Dattu Laxman Matade

4. Siddappa Gurappa Sattigeri

5. Guru Siddappa Dundappa Belgavi

6. Shivalingappa Yellappa Katambar and

7. One more person

The members of these persons' families should also be provided honorarium. Swatantra Sangrama Bhawan should be constructed in memory of these patriots.

Mahatma Gandhi, the father of our nation, during his visit to Karnataka came near Congress well and he addressed a huge gathering there. I request the Hon'ble Minister of Human Resource Development to declare this place as a national monument. It should also be developed as an attractive tourist place.

As a befitting commemorative souvenir, postal stamps depicting Kittur Rani Chennamma, Sangolli Royanna and Belavadi Mallamma should be released by the Government of India immediately.

Few days ago a new train, Swarna Jayanti Express was flagged off from Bangalore. On the occasion of Golden Jubilee celebrations of our independence, my humble request to the Hon'ble Railway Minister is to name this train as Sangolli Royanna Express.

Sir, I thank you for giving me a chance to speak on this very vital subject and with these words I conclude my speech.

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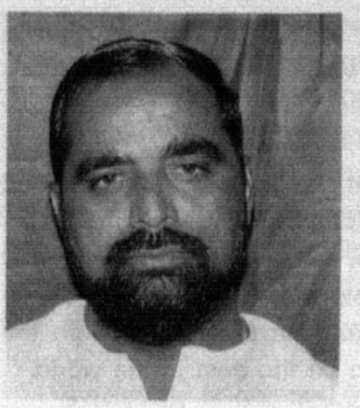
*Translation of the speech originally delivered in Kannada.



SHRI HANSRAJ AHIR

SHRI HANSRAJ AHIR (Chandrapur) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I thank you for giving me an opportunity to speak. I will dwell upon only on one issue *i.e.* ecological imbalance in our country and as to how we can improve it. Efforts are being made to improve ecological balance in our country. A number of irrigation projects as well as tribal and rural population of the country has been adversely affected with the implementation of the Forest Conservation Act, 1980. Due to this Act certain parts of our country are becoming poorer. This enactment was made with a view to protect the environment of the country. But due to this act we are unable to execute developmental schemes on forest land and even we can not construct roads therein. We can not exploit the mineral deposits in the forest land due to non-availability of roads. According to the Department of Environment the area under forest cover should be at least one third of the total land but in a number of States the forest cover is rather more than 33 per cent. If we are to promote environmental balance and bring uniformity therein, than the area wherein the land under forest over is more than 33 per cent should be handed over to the concerned District Administration or the State Government for development.

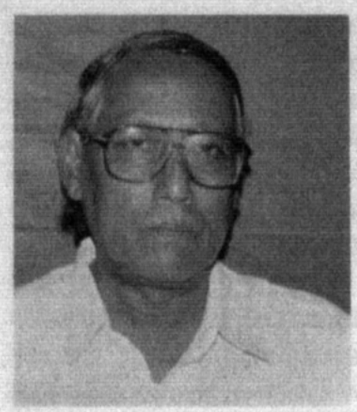
03.11 hrs.

[SHRI P.C. CHACKO *in the Chair*]

In order to set up any project for instance an irrigation project in a particular State or district, we have to provide to the Forest Department of that State Government an equal area of land or even double the area and also have to pay an amount of Rs. 30,000 per hectare for afforestation of the land. Therefore the pace of development is low in those States where the forest area is more. The forest cover in Arunachal Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh, Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Tripura, Nagaland is more than 50 per cent and in Mizoram it is 75 per cent and in Manipur it is 67 per cent. It is for this reason not even a single project is being set up there and our farmers are deprived of such irrigation projects. Their condition remains unchanged even now. We are celebrating 50th anniversary of our independence but we are yet to uplift our tribal population. There are some reasons behind this. Forest Conservation Act of 1980 needs to be amended. We can not develop our tribal dominated areas with this piece of legislation. The area under forest cover in several areas like Delhi, Mumbai, Haryana, Punjab is only 1-2 per cent. If we increase the area under forest cover, our environment balance will be improved. There are big industries in Delhi, Mumbai, Calcutta, Madras etc. We are using rural areas to protect the pollution. We are utilising rural land to check pollution in the cities. We have to undertake afforestation in those area, where forest cover is one to two per cent so that ecological balance can be restored. In Maharashtra, a number of districts have only 1-2 per cent forest cover. In my Constituency, Chandrapur the area under forest cover is 50 per cent and in Gadchiroli it is 78 per cent. No irrigation project is being undertaken in this area. Due to this Act of 1980, no project is being undertaken in these two districts. I want that the area under forest cover should be increased in those districts of Maharashtra in which the forest cover is 1-2 per cent and District Administration of Chandrapur and Gadchiroli districts should be permitted to reduce the area under forest cover of these two districts with a view to provide opportunity to the farmers and tribals of these area for progress and educate their children.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, you will not notice in the entire country that forest is creating problem. In Nagpur forest department jhudupi forests have created a problem affecting the near-by five districts. A false entry had been made in the name of jhudupi affecting Chandrapur, Gadchiroli, Wardha, Nagpur and Bhandara districts. But after the enactment of Forest Conservation Act, 1980, the forests officials staked their claim on the lakhs of hectares land of these five districts since it has been shown in the revenue records as jhudupi forest, as a result of which no developmental activities could be undertaken there. I request through you to amend this Act and the jhudupi forest should be handed over to the Revenue Department so as to enable us to develop these five districts.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, there are number of problems in those districts having dense forest areas. We noticed that extremist activities are more in such areas. You might have observed that Nagaland, Mizoram and Assam where forest cover is more, the extremist organisations are more active there. In Chandrapur and Gadchiroli districts and in those areas of Andhra Pradesh where Naxalist movement is there, the forest cover is more. I do not say that the area under forest cover should invariably be reduced but I would like to say that forest cover may be reduced in those areas wherein it is more than the required proportion so that the people there could live in a peaceful atmosphere and the crores of rupees being spent to check the terrorist activities could be saved. The population of the areas having more forest areas can have justice. With these words, I conclude.



PROF. R.R. PRAMANIK

[English]

PROF. R.R. PRAMANIK (Mathurapur) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I will speak on science and technology, and nuclear energy. As there is a time constraint, I shall be very pointed and very precise.

Whenever we talk about science and technology, we must keep in mind that the development and strength of a country depends mainly on the development of science and technology. A super-power means, a country which is super in technology and science. Science discovers the truth which is hidden in nature, and technology innovates something which is not in nature and it innovates or invents with the help of scientific discovery. So, innovations of excellence depends on the discovery of excellence. So, equal stress should be given on the fundamental research in basic sciences in addition to the stress on the tehnological innovations of excellence. Otherwise, we will be lagging behind in technological innovations with respect to the advanced countries under globalisation, liberalisation and presently in the unipolar world where we are, after the collapse of the Soviet Union. We must keep with the advanced countries in technological innovations.

In our country, less stress is given on the fundamental research in basic sciences. Most of the scientists are not engaged mainly in research work. Most of them are rather made as Directors-General, Directors, Secretaries or the Chairman of Commissions. So, they get less time for research work and more time for administration. It is not a good sign. A scientist should engage most of his available time in the fundamental research. In our technological fields also, as I have seen, all efforts are made equally in all the technological fields. This is not proper. This is not wise.

Singapore, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Korea and Japan are known as Asian Tigers because they have exerted maximum efforts in some selected fields where they can be the best in the world. In our country also, in the field of technology, we must have three compartments instead of one compartment. Putting all the technological stress in one compartment, and putting equal stress on all the technological means is not wise. We must have three compartments.

In the first compartment we should identify those technological fields where we can be the best in the world. Then, you can compete. Say, for example, in the herbal medicine or in leather technology we are at par with the advanced countries. If we exert maximum effort with the available talents, then we can be the best in the world.

In the second compartment, we are lagging behind in the technological fields in comparison to advanced countries. There, we can cooperate and compete. Take for example atomic energy or space technology. There, we are lagging, but not far behind. We are slightly lagging behind in comparison to the advanced countries. There you can cooperate and compete.

In the third compartment, we can put those technologies where we are lagging far behind. There you can copy and improve. That is also philosophy accepted universally in technological fields. Take the examples of information technology and bio-technology. In these fields, we can copy and improve.

So, in these three compartments, technological means can be put according to this criteria. Then, we can be one of the Asian Tigers or if we like, we can be an Asian Elephant. If we do not do that, we will always lag behind in all the technological fields, even in comparison to the Asian Tigers.

Not to speak about the Europeans and the Americans. Now in science and technology for long, there was a slogan, 'shaping the future with the sun'. Now solar energy is very expensive. It is diurnal; it is seasonal; it is mainly for the tropical countries; and it is suitable for the isolated places like deserts, hill-tops and islands. But shaping the future with the sun is not feasible, is not practicable, and there is no break-through for the photovoltaic cells. So, it should be "shaping the future with fusion", either hot or cold. It is because, if we can achieve the technological innovations in the fusion technology, either from hot fusion or from cold fusion, then the electricity will be cheaper than water because enough heavy hydrogen is available in the ocean. After the discovery of cold fusion of Dr. Pons and Dr. Fleishmann a few years back, cold fusion has become a reality. In Japan and in America, a huge sum of money is being spent which is called a power pact—power from hydrogen. They do not use word the "cold fusion". They say they get power from hydrogen. So, it is possible. It is a reality. In Japan and in America some companies have patented this power pack.

Now also some scientists are trying to get the electricity from hot fusion. In our country, we have immense deposits of thorium in Kerala. It is 3,60,000 MT of thorium and 60,000 MT of uranium. So, we have enough fuel to get electricity for a few thousand years. But our coal deposits are only 192 billion MT. Within hundred years, all the known coal deposits will be eaten up and our deposits of oil and gas are also very bleak. Oil deposit is 1.1 billion MT of coal equivalent and gas deposit is 0.9 billion MT of coal equivalent.

Availability of gas is 0.9 billion MT of coal equivalent. So, they are very insignificant. It will be exhausted even before 50 years. After that, no machine will run, no industry will run. There will be complete darkness. We talk much about non-conventional energy sources.

Our ex-Prime Minister told about the hydro electric power and that Himachal Pradesh alone could feed the whole of India from its hydel electric power stations—if I could remember correctly what he has said. Now our maximum potentiality for hydro electricity is only 75,000 m.w. of electricity. Above that, we cannot achieve because there are so many limitations like rainfall, environmental hazards. So, the limit is only 75,000 mw of electricity. We are now producing 84,000 m.w. of electricity in our country and per capita power consumption is only 253 kwh per year. Whereas the world average is 2400 kwh per year and the American average is 10,000 kwh per year. European average is 5,000 kwh per year. So, the hydro electric power generation is completely insufficient to attain even the world average of 2400 kwh per year.

So, you must go for nuclear power. There is no other option. It is inevitable according to Dr. Srinivasan, Dr. Raja Ramanna, according to Dr. P.K. Iyengar and according to Dr. Chidambaram. All the nuclear scientists in our country have said that nuclear power is inevitable. Otherwise, after 100 years, the whole of India will go to darkness. So sooner we go for nuclear power, the better it is in our country, the gestation period is six to seven years. But in America, they have developed the technology whereby the gestation period is only two years. China is trying her best to have a collaboration with America to get the technology to reduce the gestation period.

In our country, we have thorium of 600 billion metric tonne of coal equivalent. We have this huge amount. We have now passed over the second stage where plutonium can be used as fuel. It can be obtained as spin-off fuel from the fast breeder reactor. The natural uranium is used as fuel and as spin-off, we get plutonium-239 which would provide electricity. In July, we attained criticality at Kalpakkam. We have achieved 15 m.w. of electricity from the test reactor and very soon, we will go to commercial production from the fast breeder reactor where we would achieve 500 m.w. of electricity indigenously. Our scientists and technologists deserve a praise. We have achieved fast breeder reactor technology.

After the second stage, we will pass over to the third stage where thorium can be used as blanket and plutonium used as fuel. Uranium-233 can be obtained from the spin-off, which is a fuel, which is fissile element. Our scientists have achieved this technology.

Now our slogan should be for the present, it is fission and for shaping the future, it is fusion. You know slogan is a very compact idea for embracing many things. Therefore, the slogan should be a correct one. It is shaping the present with fission and shaping the future with fusion, either cold or hot.

This is the reality. Otherwise, we see, throughout the world 437 nuclear power stations are in operation and 37 nuclear power stations are under construction. Even in Japan, which is an earthquake-ridden country and where two atom bombs were dropped, 33 per cent of electricity come from nuclear power. In France, more than 77.8 per cent electricity comes from nuclear power. Even in South Korea more than 46 per cent electricity comes from nuclear power. But in our country, it is only 1.89 per cent. 1,840 mw of electricity comes from nuclear power, where the technology is there, scientists are there, fuel is there, thorium is there, uranium is there and still our production of electricity from nuclear power is 1.89 per cent.

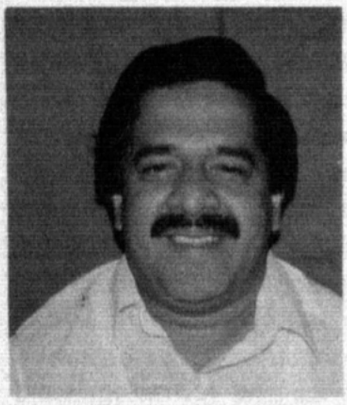
The last point is that science and technology, and research and development should be clubbed together. We must have a policy. Our Science Policy dates back to 1958 when Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru was the Prime Minister. It is a back-dated policy. So, a new time bound policy with planning, programme and objective should be there in place of the old policy. Otherwise, we cannot cope up with globalisation and liberalisation.

In our Budget, only 0.6 per cent is spent on this. This Budget allocation should not be less than four per cent on science and technology and research and development. Regarding the slogan 'lap to land' I would say that that slogan is incomplete. It should be 'lap to land and from land to lamp'.

We are also worried about our scientists going abroad because there is no infrastructural facility and modern equipment available in our country. Here I would like to mention that the scientists are not going abroad for money but to get maximum facilities for research work. I can say

it from my own experience. In 1983, I attended one international conference and I met Dr. Subramaniam Chandrashekher, the Nobel Laureate and asked him why did he not come to India. The scientists of India needed his help and guidance. His answer was that he wanted to go back to India but there were no facilities, no modern equipment available for research work. So that is the reason why our scientists are going abroad. They are accused of leaving the country for want of money. They are not going there for money but because there are no facilities available for research in our country. So, all the facilities should be provided to the scientists. They should be made the most respectable persons in the society and all the facilities should go to them.

To complete I would say that in our country non-science prevails over science. That is the tragedy. Now, we are in the threshold of the Twenty first Century and we talk about the advancement of the country but there in India non-science prevails over science. So we must give due importance to science and technology.



SHRI RAMESH CHENNITHALA

SHRI RAMESH CHENNITHALA (Kottayam) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, the nation is at the threshold of the new millennium and it is widely welcomed that Parliament has devoted enough time for an honest introspection into the achievements and failures of the last five decades as a nation and as a people.

Sir, India's civilization is 5000 years old. We are proud of our civilization. We are proud of our heritage. The concept of modern Indian nation is as young as our Independence.

I represent a generation which has no experience of the freedom movement. We learnt about our freedom movement through books and we learn about our freedom movement through historical evidences. But as a representative of the new generation, it is my bounded duty to salute those who have sacrificed their lives for India's Independence and those who have sacrificed their lives for a better future of our country.

India had to face the pace of our Partition. Thousands and thousands of our people were transferred to both the sides. Even today the wounds of Partition have not healed, and the people are remembering the Partition with great pain. But we move forward vigorously towards a new horizon and we tried our best for the national reconstruction. The nation moved forward and tried to become stronger and stronger. We cannot forget the achievements of the country in different fields over the five decades. I do not want to elaborate on it. Economically, socially and educationally, we have progressed a lot, but we have to achieve more. There should be a concerted effort to make India stronger in different fields. We consolidated the democratic process at the grassroot level and ensured the spirit of secularism. In spite of enormous odds, we tried our best to institutionalise the rule of law.

We have our great national leaders. They tried their best to make this country stronger and stronger. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of our country had given a vision to our nation and to the people. Shrimati Indira Gandhi had given stability to this nation. Shri Rajiv Gandhi had given hope to the new generation and to our country. Toady what is the situation? Our country does not have any vision. We do not have political stability.

The new generation has no hope. The new generation is groping in the dark, and complete disillusionment can be seen around us. Seventy-nine per cent of our Indian population is below 35 years of age. They do not have confidence that this nation can provide requisite opportunity for them to maximize their potential. Can we infuse confidence in the minds of the new generation? Can we give the requisite opportunity to the new generation? Can we give a better life to the toiling masses of our country? Can we enthuse the countrymen for participating in nation-building activities? Can we set a new agenda before this nation? Definitely, as I mentioned earlier, we have consolidated our position in various fields. Enormous progress has been made by our nation but shortcomings are there. We have to address those problems. We have to see that these shortcomings are rectified.

Population is the biggest problem. My hon. friends from different political parties agreed that there is a consensus in this House and in the nation that the problem of population is to be addressed very soon.

Sir, today, we have about 960 million people. Every year we are adding 19 million people. In 1951, we were about 400 million people. When we approach 2001, our population will be 1,000 million people. These are not mere statistics. This reveals the utter failure of the strategy to control population growth. It has negated all growth and development. It has eaten away the fruit of development.

Earlier, India was a country which was importing even needles from other countries. Now, we are able to manufacture and launch satellites. We could have achieved spectacular achievements in the fields of science and education, but we miserably failed because of the enormous growth of population. Thirty-eight per cent of the total population is living below poverty line. So, the population growth is the root cause of all the problems. I am not ignoring the socio-economic and religious aspects. They are definitely there. It is an hindrance to checking the population growth. It is the duty of Government to devise effective methods to check the population menace.

I want to put a question before this nation. Has the life expectancy of the people who are below the poverty line increased? No. The life expectancy of the affluent people, who are in the higher strata of the society, has increased. However, the life expectancy of the people who are below the poverty line has not increased. So, we cannot be content with this. So, a lot more things are needed to be done in this regard. The Government has an answer in the form of family planning. I am coming from a State, Kerala, where family planning has been introduced and implemented vigorously. *(Interruptions).* It is a model State. But there is no honest assessment of the family planning programmes. Now, everybody is agreeing about family planning programmes. But when late Shri Sanjay Gandhi was introducing that programme, there was a hue and cry against the programme. Almost all the political parties stood up and said that this is not practicable, and should not be implemented.

Late Shri Biju Patnaik was also telling about the population problem and was complimenting late Shri Sanjay Gandhi. I do not want to politicise this issue. I want to say that this is the issue which has to be addressed very ruthlessly and seriously. Here, we have failed miserably. What are the statistics? The four big States—Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and Rajasthan—had registered 42 per cent increase in population during 1981-90. I am not blaming anybody. But this is the reality. The increase can be seen here. So, we have to formulate a different strategy for that. My suggestion is that a Regional Council of the Chief Ministers of all the States with the hon. Prime Minister as Chairman be set up to formulate a strategy to tackle the population growth effectively, in these States.

The other serious problem is unemployment. A number of programmes were implemented time and again. But the unemployment problem has remained acute as ever. Ninety-four million jobs have to be created between 1992 and 2002. During the Ninth Plan, we have to create 75 million jobs. Can our country create 75 million jobs? It is impossible. Sixty-one per cent of the work force is engaged in the agricultural sector. It is a core sector, but we are ignoring this sector.

The investment in agriculture sector is coming down. The capacity of the agriculture sector to sustain huge work force is progressively shrinking. That is the main problem which our country is facing today. We are not giving much importance to this sector. The organised sector registered a sustained growth. I agree with that. But the growth of employment is not corresponding with that. We are saying about self-employment programmes. But almost all the self-employment programmes had failed and they are also bogged in corruption. You take the J.R.Y. I will tell about my honest assessment. In the P.A.C. we had toured different States. We saw that the funds to the tune of Rs. 8,000 crore are earmarked annually for *Jawahar Rozgar Yojana.* This is bogged into corruption. This *Jawahar Rozgar Yojana* should be completely dismantled. This programme was not giving any employment to any rural people in our country and they are not creating any permanent assets in our rural areas. There should be a serious thinking on this to abandon this programme so that we can give this money to the States, and they can formulate their own programmes to tackle unemployment problem.

The economic liberalisation was ushered in 1991. A lot of foreign investments are coming. It is a good thing. I welcome that. But the rate of unemployment has gone high. The planners failed to tackle the unemployment problem. Here we have to ponder over this issue. The foreign investment is coming. New industries are coming up. But our rate of employment is coming down. This is a very serious thing to be attended to. The fate of the majority of educated unemployed is very very bad. They are going out and they are not getting any employment. In our country, they do not have any opportunity and they are resorting to all types of terrorist activities and other activities. People are ready to mislead them to resort to this type of activities. A major investment in labour intensive sector is the need of the hour. We have to raise capital investment in agriculture sector. We have to allow small scale sector to grow. Unfortunately, by the pressure of the big industrialists and their persuasion, we are taking away more items from the list reserved for small scale industries. This should be stopped. Otherwise the future of the small scale industries will be very bleak in our country. Tremendous employment

potential is available in the small scale sector. We have to utilise that.

I would like to mention one last point about education. My colleagues have mentioned about the fate of education in our country. Numerous Commissions were set up. They had given their recommendations. Financial Committees were constituted. They had given their recommendations. We have not progressed much in this field. In the First Five Year Plan, the allocation was Rs. 153 crore only. In the Eighth Five Year Plan, it was Rs. 19,600 crore. We earmarked more money for that. But the percentage of literacy rate is not going up and that is the very dark side of this issue. How can we improve the literacy rate? I am coming from a constituency which has attained first hundred per cent literacy in the country. We can attain literacy not only through Governmental agencies but through others also. There are other agencies. The N.G.Os are there. The library institutions are there. It should be a people's movement. Without a people's movement you cannot have hundred per cent literacy. Whatever amount you may spend, but without an awareness among the people, without the cooperation of the people, and without the participation of the people, you cannot attain hundred per cent literacy. That is our experience.

I do not want to go much into this. The shocking reality is that in hundred million street children are there in this world. India has contributed a major percentage of that. Our students are not getting proper education. They are not getting proper guidance. We talked about dropouts. It is a much serious problem which we have to attend to very immediately.

I wanted to make one point about our cultural development. Now, we are all thinking about how much we will be able to produce. We are only thinking about the GNP growth. Every society and every State is talking about the GNP growth but the human values are sidelined. We are ignoring the human choices. That is the main crisis which every society in this globalised world is facing. We will have to see that development takes place and at the same time, human values should also be protected. Otherwise, our future will be bleak. In this august House, on this historic occasion, I want to say one thing very clearly that India can progress. I am not a prophet of doom. We have a future. The only thing is that we have to come together, we have to have some consensus about the national issues, and we have to tackle these problems above party lines and politics.

SHRI PUNDLIKRAO RAMJI GAWALI

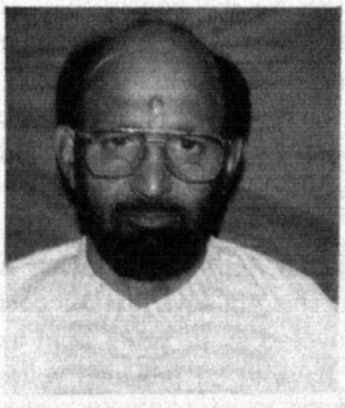
[Translation]

SHRI PUNDLIKRAO RAMJI GAWALI (Washim) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I have been elected to this House for the first time and prior to coming here I had an impression that lot of good issues were discussed here but now I find myself disillusioned. I do not want to devolve deeply on the reasons of disillusionment.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, a special session of Parliament has been convened. Hon'ble Speaker made an impressive speech. Atalji and some other leaders also delivered good speeches. On the other hand there were some speeches which were bereft of facts. Their's were speeches for the sake of speeches and sheer wastage of time of the House. Our leaders, such as Mahatma Gandhi and Nehruji were praised a lot. Well, they were good persons but the point is what kind of persons are we? This is what we should think about. Some of the Members were speaking on the problems of their respective parties whereas some others were speaking of their own problems. I think this session has been called not to point out the problems but to solve them. In this special session we should discuss problems like corruption, huge election expenditure, population explosion, increasing foreign debt, poverty etc. An effective and uniform policy should be followed to check the growing population. An ineffective policy will fetch no results. If population growth has to be contained, then give a slogan like 'Ham do Hamara Ek' (One child norm) instead of the present slogan 'Ham do hamare do' (two children norm). The persons not adhearing to this norm not be provided with ration-cards and should be banned from contesting elections. If such measures are taken every thing can be set right.

The point that election expenditure should be curtailed has been made repeatedly by the Members. But how to reduce it? The persons contesting the elections should be asked to give an affidavit to this effect and copies of such affidavits should be displayed in villages concerned. There should be only one car for the candidate contesting the election and one car or van for his workers. There should be one public meeting in a day where all the candidates contesting the election should be asked to deliver their speeches from one platform.

What can be said about corruption? Even a rickshaw puller speaks about Bofors scam. Corrupt practices have become so common that each and every one is aware of it. Wherefrom did the corruption emanate and how is it flourishing? Why donot you eredicate it altogether. There are some people here in this House whom every body considers as corrupt. If corruption has originated from this House, then it should be first eradicated here itself. If it is not uprooted from the House itself, then how it can be eradicated elsewhere? Wherelse this problem of corruption can be solved if not in the Parliament of the country? This problem has to be solved here itself. Atalji has rightly said that when the battle of Panipat was being fought the on lookers fairly out numbered the people engaged in fighting. Well, in those days people used to accept the sovereignty of the king who ultimately emerged victorious. But the battles which we will fight, will not be of the kind of the battle of Panipat, rather these would be like 'Yadavi Warfare'. For instance I am Gawali. There are many Yadavas in this House. Well our future warfares will be like Yadvi warfare where nobody will remain unaffected. All would be affected by that warfare, be they rich or poor. So this is how we have to tackle all these problems. There is no need for making long speeches. Every thing can be set right in the country if certain problems are solved. Corruption and population explosion are the two major problems which should be accorded top priority and with the solving of these problems, all other problems of the country would automatically be solved. With these words I conclude my speech.



SHRI LALMUNI CHAUBEY

SHRI LALMUNI CHAUBEY (Buxar) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, life undergoes changes dayin and dayout. This is the plan of nature. On this basis life comes into being as an infant from time immemorial. Time causes new creations and it is the time that causes destruction. Now we have to see as to what has been created and what has been destroyed during these fifty years. I think the war of independence started from Jhansi. The bugle of rebellion was founded by Mangal Panday : Kumar Singh of Jagdish Pur challenged the British rulers, and then Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay wrote 'Anand Math' which contains the song 'Vande Matram' which moved the hearts of our countrymen. Chandrashekhar Azad, Ram Prasad Bismil, Ashfaquallah, Rajguru, Sukhdev, and Bhagat Singh threw bombs in this Assembly to open the deaf ears of the Britishers. Subhash Chandra Bose gave the slogans, 'You give me blood and I will give you freedom' and 'March to Delhi'. Tilak had said in the court itself that 'Freedom is our birth right'.

04.00 hrs.

This slogan rented the airs in those days. Tilak led this country until 1920 when Gandhiji came to the scene and felt the pulse of the nation. What made Gandhiji to take the leadership of this country in his hands. He felt that this country has been enslaved and impoverished by the cruel rulers. The continuous repression has made our people hapless like animals. Gandhiji gave up the habit of wearing suits and ties and started weaving a single dhoti with which he used to cover his shoulders as well – He used to wear wooden slippers and hold a stick in his hand. He gave us a call to join Satyagrah, speak the truth and observe non-violence. It was not a theory propounded by any foreigner, rather it is a principle being followed in this country since ages. Prahlad resisted his father in a non violent manner. Non-violence is being practised in our country from ancient time. Gandhiji revived that practice in modern age. He brought the entire country under the banner of Congress and ultimately got India freed. Thereafter the entire country got united under the banner of the Congress.

When we got independence, Gandhiji said that the task of the Congress was over and now it should be disbanded. But the lust of power and pelf was there and the Congressman did not heed to the advice of Gandhiji. The Congress was converted into a political party. That political party took all the credit of the Congress which was earned by it during freedom struggle and won the election in 1952. It won the elections in 1962 on the issue of Chinese aggression, in 1967 on the issue of famine, in 1971 on the issue of Bangladesh war, in 1980 by dividing Janata Party, in 1984 by sympathy vote after the assassination of Smt. Indira Gandhi and later on in another general election by sympathy vote after the assassination of Shri Rajiv Gandhi. They aroused the sentiments of the people in every election but they did not have any concrete issue in any election. It did not do any thing to check population growth. It did not do any thing to tackle the problem of unemployment, to eradicate poverty and to educate the people. These are the issues on which many hon. Members have spoken. I agree with them. They are not present in the House at this time ...*(Interruptions)* such people come in forward from the back.

What I would like to say is that a serious crisis is coming up before the country in the shape of corruption. We have forgotten Gandhiji and that is why several social evils

cropped up in the society such as terrorism, corruption, kidnapping, casteism etc. These all evils have shaken the very roots of our nation. Today you can see that only the corrupt people are opposing corruption, murderers are opposing murders, dacoits are opposing dacoity and rest 95 per cent people are keeping silence about these things because they have been male handicapped not to open their mouths. Affluent class is only five per cent of the total population and rest 95 per cent people are dying in lack of medicines. Their children are dying of pneumonia, heat wave, cold wave and hunger. They are illiterate in lack of education facilities. They do not have roof over their heads. We ask for their votes. And those people, who were responsible for providing protection and education to such toiling masses, are today shedding crocodile's tears for them.

Here all hon. Members are speaking on poverty and they are of the views that if unemployment problem is solved, the poverty will automatically eliminate or the *vice-versa*. I would like to know whether there will be any concrete outcome of this four days discussion. I think this whole discussion would prove to be a futile exercise only. Such discussion is a routine matter here.

Now it is being said that we should prepare ourselves for second freedom struggle. We have been also organising meetings in different parts of the country for the last four years. We are in search of a leader who enjoys the confidence of the people and on whose call people could come forward but till now we could not find such a leader. Should we not produce leaders like Gandhiji? There is no need to study any philosophy, world history or the history of Parliament, that too on the Government cost, to know the fact that we politicians have lost the confidence of the people. It is not a question of lowering the dignity of the Parliament but we are realising it that we are gradually losing the faith of the people. Our Parliament is in a vast splendid building where people sit to discuss the problems.

As far as poverty is concerned I would like to cite an example of Bihar. There is Ramgarh district in Bihar where once a big Session of the Congress party was held during the time of Gandhiji. The old Congressmen, who are sitting here might be knowing about it. There is a 'Chhinmastika' temple at the confluence of Bhedaghat and Damodar rivers. When 'sati' died, Lord Shiva was in illusion that she was still alive. Due to that illusion He went around the different parts of India with her dead body. The body of 'sati' fell at the confluence of Bhedaghat and Damodar rivers, where this 'Chhinmastika' temple has been built. Once we went there to have our meal at the temple. Animals are sacrificed to the deity there. I am a non-vegetarian and I, myself prepare my meal. On that day 20-25 persons were there. Meat is served there as a prasada. I am not raising the issue of violence or non-violence rather I am narrating a fact. We were very busy there in cutting onion and garlic and preparing meals, so we were not aware as to what is happening around us. After taking our meal when we went to throw our leaft plates, we saw that 25-30 children were sitting on one side and equal numbers of dogs were sitting on other side. As soon as we threw our leaf plats, the children as well as the dogs rushed towards them. They had a virtual fight for leavings. This fight between the children and dogs was witnessed by us at Chhinmastika temple in Ramgarh. One of the poets has also depicted a similar scene in his poem. He has said that there is a person who laminates bread but does not eat bread, the second person is one who laminates bread and eats bread too but the third person is one who neither laminates bread nor eats bread. I would like to know who is that third person? The Parliament of this country is silent about it.

Mr. Chairman, sir, because of poverty it has become the fate of 95 percent children to live in filth and dirt as has been depicted by one poet in his poem that it is the fate of right hand to provide water to left hand to clean the dirt. I think the hon. Members have understood its hidden meaning. I think it is the fate of 95 per cent people of our country. Farmers are in pitiable condition. They do not have irrigation facilities. Crores of rupees have been allocated for agriculture till today but instead of constructing canals, colonies were constructed. Even junior engineers have their marble houses. The Planning Commission asked for the construction of small dams to provide irrigation facility for 25 per cent agricultural land. If 5000 hectare land was actually irrigated, 25,000 or 35,000 hectare land was shown on papers as irrigated. Same is the condition in respect of schools and roads. Everybody knows where the funds have gone.

There is no separate Irrigation Act in Bihar which is guided by Bengal Irrigation Act. This Act says that the cost of bandh (dam) would be recovered in 16 years from its beneficiaries. But the farmers have to be provided water throughout the year. When 35,000 hectare of land, which was shown as irrigated on papers, has not got irrigation facility, then how they would recover the cost. Some taxes are there which were not imposed even during British Time. This is happening in our country. Seasonal dams are there all over the country and permanent dams are only a few in Punjab and Haryana from where irrigation facility is provided to the farmers. The experts of seasonal dam pretend to be the saviours of the farmers and blame substandard seeds and fertilizers and late sowing for the failure of crops. But the fact is that the farmers an tell about the type of soil just by touching it with his finger. What they do not know is how water is to be channelised, how transplantation can take

place, how flowering and grain formation will take place. The result is that the farmers is suffering. He is not getting remunerative price for his produce. Thus, he suffers from all sides.

Labourer is linked with the farmer. What is happening is that the labourer is pitted against the farmer. We find cars costing Rs. 25 lakh running on the roads. No farmer uses these cars. When we go our Constituencies, we find Mercedes, Esteems and Cielos coming out of the gates of the factories. We just dream that the owner of one these cars would give us a lift, but our dream never comes true as the owner pays no attention to us. I am talking of big industrialists and capitalists. These capitalists have made us helpless due to their money power. They exploit our helplessness by offering jobs in their concerns and then they use their personnel for the purpose of spying to get money from abroad by compromising the national interests. Such is our helplessness. Such people are on the rolls in the Government of India and they draw their salaries from the consolidated fund of India but work for industrialists during their posting in Delhi.

We are talking about 'Satyagraha'. Against whom will our Prime Minister resort to 'Satyagraha' Which door the corrupt satyagrahi knock at? What is this happening? It appears that the people have lost their mental equilibrium. If it is not so, why are the people talking on these lines?

Courtiers of the Prime Minister include one of the persons who was allotted Janata Shop when famine struck Bihar. It is the same man who had sold 'Kanna' (tiny rice pieces separated from husk) in the black market. The Magistrate had caught him and paraded him on the roads on a donkey. Today, the same person is an aspirant for the office of the Prime Minister from a political party. He too can become Prime Minister. Here some Members have suggested to limit the family to 2-3 children. As for me, I have already crossed this limit. On this front, we are almost on equal footing with Lalooji. My mind is occupied since yesterday with the thinking that the persons producing more than two children will not be allowed to run for Prime Ministership. But then who will become the Prime Minister. The office of the Prime Minister will be occupied by those who are involved in the acts of dacoity, exploitation and who have got security cardon around them.

Mr. Chairman, sir, if a change is really to be brought about in this country, we shall have to give this nation one language. Hindi is our national language. English language has done a yeoman's service in giving us knowledge and introducing us to science. Some people even go to the extent of saying that it is the English language that made us cultured and I tend to agree with them. I also accept that this language has played a role in making us familiar with the outside world. I do not nurse hatred for English language. When a patient is admitted to a hospital, the nurse looks after her. She puts the bandage on the patient's wounds and even washes his/her excreta. With her smiles, she tries to infuse hope in the frustrated patients. She shows affection on the patients, yet, can she become their mother? Similarly Hindi is our mother language and Telugu, Tamil, Kannada, Oriya, Malayalam, Bangla, Munda, Urao, Anjika, Marathi, Gujarati, Nepali and Punjabi etc. are all its sister languages. The Government should endeavour to string all these languages into a common thread for our motherland. An effort should have been made to tell the world that Hindi is a vibrating language and our Constitution has recognised it as the national language. It is another matter that during the last 50 years, it has not been allowed to flourish.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude.

SHRI LALMUNI CHAUBEY : I do not think I am taking more time. I am speaking like others did.

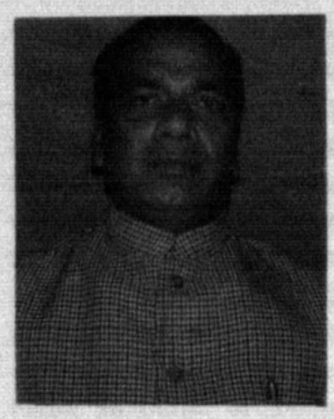
MR. CHAIRMAN : You have already taken enough time.

SHRI LALMUNI CHAUBEY : You can extend their time also in the same way you have extended my time. What I wanted to say was that some Members were speaking in Bangla, Tamil or Telugu. I was delighted at that. Let some people get employment for interpretation. But the rich would not allow it because if they do it, their monopoly on certain jobs due to English language would be demolished and the jobs of some people would be at stake. They would not be able to produce IAS and IPS Officers among their broods. It will pave way for the children of the poor to become IAS and IPS Officers. I do not think this exploitation will last longer. I hope that this battle will turn out to be a battle for constructive work. But here in our country we do not see any constructive work. Here I would like to recite a couplet.

Samar sesh hai nahin paap ka bhagi kewal vyadh,
jo tatastha hein samey likhega unka bhi apradh.

If the countrymen say that the politicians are criminals, the entire country will be a country of criminals. In that case, no party will be an exception. In my view this debate will bear no fruits, we are not going to reach any conclusion.

If this discussion turns out to be fruitful, I would be happy at what Vajpayee ji had said that some people were apprehensive that India had been divided further into two and one more partition would take place. But they proved to be wrong. Our democracy has emerged prosperous and stronger. I would be happy that day, this debate bear fruits.



SHRI SUKDEO PASWAN

SHRI SUKDEO PASWAN (Arariya) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, on the occasion of the 50th year of country's independence, the Hon. Speaker of Lok Sabha has given a clarion call to come forward to fight the second battle of independence. But I consider it not the second battle but the third battle of independence. In the year 1974 a mass movement launched by Jai Prakash Narayan ji brought about revolutionary changes. The main thrust of the agitation was to eliminate corruption and make overall changes in the educational system. A demand was made to make a provision in the rule to recall the corrupt public representatives. The agitation spread throughout the country. The above agitation was started from Gujarat and it gained momentum when it entered Bihar. My preceding speaker Shri Lalmuni Chaubey was a fighter in the said agitation. Several leaders including Raghuvansh Babu, no matter whether they are in this side or that side, were incarcerated for 19 months. The day Jai Prakashji was arrested, emergency was clamped at mid night. The entire country reeled under terror. Due to that very agitation I am a Member of Parliament now and have won the elections to Lok Sabha thrice. It is due to that agitation that family members of farmers and labourers got elected to Lok Sabha and State Assemblies. Had there been no such agitation, capitalists and big people would have continued to occupy seats in the Lok Sabha which they used to have prior to 1974. Today members of farmers' and labourers' families get elected to Lok Sabha and State Assemblies. Today I pay my obeisance to Loknayak Jai Prakash Narayan and all freedom fighters.

Several speakers spoke at length about population growth. It is estimated that by the year 2001 country's population would touch one billion. The family planning programme was started in 1951, but no concrete decision was taken at that time as to what should be the size of our population. There should be a check on this tremendous growth of population.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, a decision taken by the Lok Sabha is binding on the country. But our leaders lack will power. Due to this the country cannot make progress at the required pace.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, it is very unfortunate that even after 50 years of independence the country is lacking in education. We come from rural areas. Several of our hon. friends have rightly said that there are no schools in the villages. Even if there is a school, there is no teacher. If school and teacher are there, children do not come to schools. What are the reasons for this? Have we even taken this aspect seriously. Even after 50 years of independence children do not come to schools. Hon. Member dwelt at length the causes for children not attending to schools, but nobody has suggested the measures to be taken in this regard. Why did they not suggest any measures to be taken in this regard. Why did they not suggest any measures? In the villages while children come to schools, teachers do not attend to their duties in time. In big cities children come to schools in air-conditioned cars. The schools are also air-conditioned, on the contrary in villages schools do not have roofs. There are no teachers in schools. If teacher is there, there is no black-board. How there can be a comparison between the two. This is the matter of concern. Hon. friend Lalmuni ji is of the opinion that there will be no outcome of this 4 day long discussion. This Session do not have any Question Hour and Zero Hour. The debate will definitely have some outcome. If we do not arrive at some conclusion even after debating for 4 days, it will be very unfortunate for democracy. We have not so far arrived at any conclusion. People will gradually lose faith in the Lok Sabha and democracy. We should bring about a resolution on the 4-5 points we are discussing and get it adopted by the House unanimously.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, in the village children of poor people do not get even two square meals a day. Why we have not been able to provide food to 95 per cent people of the country even after 50 years of our independence? Why have we not been able to provide drinking water and arrange schools? What have we done so far? Some of our Hon. friends say that there has been a lot of development in the country. Truly speaking, development in the country has not taken place at the required pace. If villages are not developed, the country cannot make progress. The country cannot make progress if only big cities like Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta and Chennai are developed. Development of villages and that of poor farmers will have to be made. In big cities, extravagant expenditure is made on electricity and water is wasted in fountains in big buildings whereas in villages people do not get drinking water. There is no drinking water in the villages even after 50 years of independence. Who is responsible for this? People who remained in power for 40 long years after independence are mainly responsible for this. It is due to them that today villages lack in schools, water and hospitals.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, SCs and STs have been identified on the basis of their economic backwardness. According to

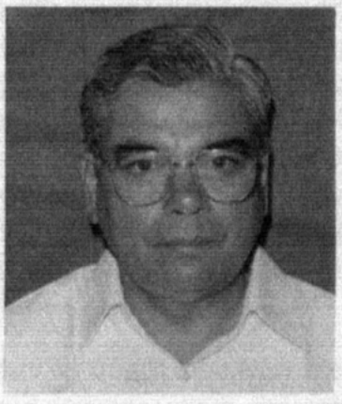
1991 census, they were 13.4 per cent. The SCs strength was 6.8 crore which comprises 16.33 per cent of the total population. When 16.33 per cent people remain illiterate, do not get food to eat and home to live in, how can we expect that the country would make progress. Certainly proper arrangements for education of the children belonging to SCs and STs have not been made. Under the education policy for children primary education has been made compulsory for children upto 14 years of age. This policy has not been implemented. Mr. Chairman, Sir, the country cannot make progress without the development of the minorities because they are about 20-25 crores. We want to keep them off the mainstream. It is very unfortunate. We cannot expect country's development in the true sense, if the people belonging to SCs, STs, Minorities and backward classes are not given due respect and imparted proper education.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, 90 per cent of our country's population depend on agriculture. Even after 50 years we have not been able to provide water, electricity and roads to farmer. The country cannot make progress if agriculture is not given proper status. In the national economy agriculture occupies a very important position and 65 to 70 per cent labour force gets its livelihood from agriculture and farmers. Inspite of that we are ignoring it in this manner in stead of trying to understand it. Unless the farmer becomes prosperous, the country as a whole cannot prosper. All my colleagues who spoke before me pointed out and you too are aware that it is the farmer who grows the crop but prices of produce are determined by people sitting in air-conditioned comfort in the cities. For example, in our region and in the Bengal region jute crop is grown and two years ago the price of jute was Rs. 2200 per quintal. Now the jute season has arrived and its current price in our region is Rs. 600/- per quintal. You can well imagine the plight of the farmers. The jute which once sold at Rs. 2200/- a quintal, is now selling at Rs. 600-700 per quintal only. After putting in hard labour day-in and day-out and toiling a great deal, the farmer is able to grow his crops, yet he fails to get remunerative prices thereof. The country cannot truly make progress unless the farmer is given remunerative prices of his produce.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, at the end I would like to say that there is ceiling on land in the villages. One cannot hold more than 20 acres of unirrigated land and more than 16 acres of irrigated land. But there is no ceiling on urban property. One can go on building one mansion after another with no account thereof. Therefore, through you, I would like to say that just as there is ceiling on the farmer's land, in the same way a ceiling must be put on urban property as well. If you want India and the villages to make progress, you will certainly have to go through the exercise of putting a ceiling on urban property.

Lastly, I would like to mention about corruption. I do not see what holds back all our Members of State Legislatures and Members of both Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha including Ministers and the Prime Minister from furnishing returns of their property.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, unless all of us furnish details of our property, there can be no betterment in the country. If a political party has a clean heart and is sincere about eradicating corruption, it cannot go on simply making speeches, one can go about it only by making a firm resolve here in the Lok Sabha and work for eradication of corruption. All of us belonging to all political parties have a responsibility to do this. Unless we make a firm determination to eradicate corruption, it cannot be eradicated. The last conclusion that should be drawn from this Lok Sabha must be that we are determined and ready to end corruption. Senior leaders of all parties are present here. If all of us decide together to that effect then no force on earth can prevent us from removing corruption. Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to thank you very much.



SHRI ISWAR PRASANNA HAZARIKA

[English]

SHRI ISWAR PRASANNA HAZARIKA (Tezpur) : Thank you, Mr. Chairman, Sir. In this historic debate to celebrate the Golden Jubilee of our Independence, I beg your indulgence, Sir, to draw the attention of this House and of the nation to the phenomenon of regionalism, secessionism and terrorism which has emerged, specially in the North-Eastern Indian scene in recent times with ferocity greater than ever before.

The hydra-headed monster of terrorism is raising its head and threatening to devour the entire North-Eastern Region, particularly the State of Assam. Sabotage, subversion, arson, bomb blasts, killings, extortion, kidnapping, ambushes and skirmishes with the Army have increased menacingly in the recent weeks disturbing peace

and tranquility of the people, thus causing havoc with the economy of the Region.

Sir, here we have taken pride in preserving the unity and integrity of our country during the last 50 years. We have taken pride very legitimately. We have Cassandras who have prophesied that this country with all the diversities would meet its doom and collapse within years like a pack of cards. We have been able to prove these Cassandras wrong by preserving the unity and integrity of the country in spite of the forces operating to divide the country over the years.

But, then, at what cost we have preserved this unity and integrity? In Jammu and Kashmir, and in Punjab, there have been a lot of sacrifices to combat these divisive and secessionist forces. I come from the North-East. I know the story, the gory story of the North-East. Now, over the years, starting with the Naga rebellion in 1950s, secessionist forces have been operating most vigorously in our region. Thousands and thousands of innocent people lost their lives to the bullets of the secessionists and hundreds of our jawans over the years have sacrificed their lives in order to preserve the unity and integrity of our country.

On this occasion, we will be failing in our duty if we do not pay our tributes to the thousands who have battled against secessionist forces and helped us to keep the country united. Why is this secessionism? Why is this terrorism all pervading in the North-East? Of course, it is in Punjab and to a certain extent, it has been curbed. It has been there in Jammu and Kashmir. But talking about the North-East, a question arises. Why is it that we have to put up with terrorism and secessionism that had been prevailing there?

Because of paucity of time, I would not like to go into the causes of terrorism. There are many causes. For example, except under subjugation under the British imperialism, this part of country was never a part of India. Therefore, a sense of separateness is being felt by the people of that region. The other causes are like racial differences, cultural and other differences and geographical isolation. I will not go into those details. But the fact remains that terrorism prevails there causing havoc in the region. Therefore, it is our urgent duty to do something to combat this menace, if possible to eradicate it. Therefore, on this occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of our Independence, it is appropriate that we take a pledge, a vow to solve this problem on a sustained basis. To that end, I would like to suggest an agenda for action in the Northeast to tackle the problem of secessionism and terrorism.

My agenda consists of a number of points. Number one, is, the Government should formulate and implement an effective comprehensive strategy to curb and eradicate insurgency and terrorism within a time-bound programme. Number two, to identify and deactivate anti-social groups indulging in extortion and interfering with projects and development works, masquerading as terrorists and militant outfits. Number three, to announce firmly and unambiguously that no further vivisection will be allowed of any of the existing seven States in the Northeast. For this purpose, the Government may consider abolition of article 244A of the Constitution. At the same time, we have a number of boundary disputes between the States in the region. I suggest that the Government appoints a judicial commission to find a permanent solution to the problem.

Number four, the Government should make a policy to include all indigenous people of Assam, irrespective of religion, caste, ethnic group and languages in the list of Scheduled Tribes under article 342 of the Constitution and to expand part I of the table appended to para 20 of the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution to include all the districts excluding the capital region of Guwahati. Each district in Assam shall be autonomous district and shall be administered as tribal areas as per the provisions of the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution. In other words, I am suggesting that the entire Assam should be declared as tribal State. I am suggesting this because, a number of ethnic tribes are demanding autonomy. Some of them are demanding autonomous status within Assam under article 244A of the Constitution. Other ethnic groups are demanding autonomy with separate areas exclusively for themselves. There are Bodos, Karbis, Mishings, Tiwas, Ahoms and Laloongs. There are 20 different ethnic groups demanding autonomous status and separates areas for themselves in the State. Only about five to ten per cent of the people in Assam may not be considered as tribals. Therefore, to put an end to this problem once for all, I am suggesting that the entire people should be declared as tribals and the entire State should be administered under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution.

At the same time, we are facing today in Assam, a very very grave financial crisis. All developmental and welfare activities have come to a complete standstill. The Government has not been able to manage the finances efficiently.

If this state of affairs goes on then it would be a disaster for the State and the country. Thousands of teachers and Government employees have not even been paid their salaries. The monthly revenue and other incomes earned by the State is not enough to pay their salaries, leave alone there being a surplus for developmental works. Therefore, the Government of India should give a time of about three months or six months to the Government of Assam and say

that unless it manages its finances more effectively and in a better manner, the Government would have no other alternative but to declare a Financial Emergency under article 360 of the Constitution.

Lastly, there have been a lot of leakages in the delivery system, so far as Assam is concerned. That is one of the reasons why Assam is one of the most backward States in the country. The leakages are maximum in rural welfare and developmental activities be it PDS or DRDA, DRY or PMRY. The leakages are such that no benefit is accruing to the intended beneficiaries. There is a lot of corruption not only under this Government's rule but it has been there for quite a long time. But of late, because of the financial problem corruption has increased appallingly. There is also the Letter of Credit scandal which is a kind of a younger sister of the *chara-ghotala* of Bihar. This scandal also relates to the Animal Husbandry Department, but the CBI is dragging its feet in the investigation and giving a feeling to the people that the Government is not serious about tackling corruption. I, therefore, urge upon the Government to expedite the investigation, complete the inquiry and inflict punishment on the guilty whether they are politicians, to whichever party they may belong, or high ranking bureaucrats.

In addition to these problems, there must be an economic part of the programme in the Agenda. I would just briefly mention those economic points. The Government should undertake a crash employment programme to recruit local people to Police and paramilitary forces, *viz.*, Special Security Bureau, CRPF, BSF, the Army, the Air Force, etc. so that ten to twelve thousand young people are recruited to these forces, at least, in a span of two to three years. The unemployed frustrated youths are the happy hunting ground for the terrorists and secessionists. Unless we provide some opening for these people, it would not be possible to curb the scale of insurgency and secessionism in our State.

To increase employment opportunities, industries must be set up in the State of Assam because we do not have industry or commerce worth the name. I am suggesting that the Government should not only enhance location for various employment generation schemes like JRY, PMRY, IRDP, etc., but also make sure at the same time that the leakage in the system is minimised.

The State Government had also issued an advertisement for recruitment of 8000 teachers about a year ago and they have collected a sum of Rs. 5 crore to Rs. 6 crore from the poor educated unemployed youths as application fees. They are sitting on that money and are not proceeding with any recruitment. So, I am suggesting that they should expedite this recruitment process in order to see that many of these young people are brought back to the mainstream and prevented from joining the terrorist outfits.

Several Hon'ble Members were talking about the hydro potential. This is one area where the North-Eastern region can contribute the maximum to the economy of the country.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude. Some more Members have to speak. Time is running out.

SHRI ISWAR PRASANNA HAZARIKA : I am also in a hurry as I have to catch my flight.

Because of shortage of time, I will not be able to complete all the suggestions that I have but I am hoping that what I am suggesting here will not just end up in the records or in the proceedings of this House or in the book that may be printed specially for this occasion where all this is going to be incorporated. I am hoping that it will see some action and that the Government will take these suggestions seriously and try to implement the North-Eastern agenda that I have proposed.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Before I call upon, Shri D.P. Yadav, I would like to have your opinion. We have 25 Members more to speak. All our staff members are to report here again tomorrow morning.

AN HON. MEMBER : I have to come at 11.00 in the morning.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Not only you but all the Members sitting here have to. That is not the point. The point is, it is not an individual question. We have to collectively decide what to do.

SHRI SATYA PAL JAIN (Chandigarh) : Each one can speak for five to 10 minutes.

[Translation]

SHRI D.P. YADAV (Sambhal) : Hon'ble Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am thankful to you, night is past yielding place to morning. I would like to first ...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Yadavji, would you complete within five minutes?

SHRI PRABHU DAYAL KATHERIA (Ferozabad) : Five minutes is too little a time, at least 10-15 minutes must be given ...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Katheriaji, the problem is that there is only one day left *i.e.* tomorrow with no further extension.

...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : Let us try to finish as far as possible.

AN HON. MEMBER : A maximum time of 10 minutes can be given.

MR. CHAIRMAN : No. Even within five minutes, we can complete. Please allow our colleagues to speak the maximum.

SHRI A.C. JOS (Idukki) : Up to what time can it be done?

MR. CHAIRMAN : We cannot go beyond 5.30. That is the problem.

[Translation]

SHRI D.P. YADAV : Sir, what can be put forth in less than 10 minutes?

SHRI PRABHU DAYAL KATHERIA : Mr. Chairman, Sir, at least 10 minutes' time is required to bring home ones view point...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Katheriaji, today at 11 A.M.

[English]

We have to start again. Then all the staff Members are to be here at 11 O'clock. So we cannot go beyond 5.30. That is the problem.

[Translation]

SHRI PRABHU DAYAL KATHERIA : At least 10-15 minutes must be given, it is not worthwhile to give less than that.

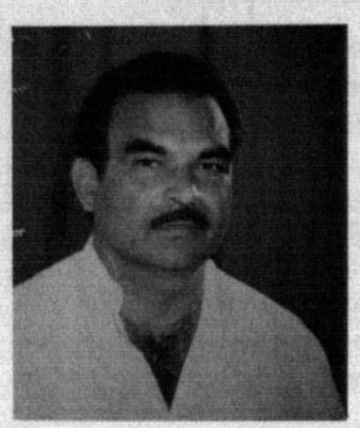
[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : There is no point arguing like this.

DR. ARUN KUMAR SARMA (Lakhimpur) : Sir, I would like to make a request.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Your name is in the list.

DR. ARUN KUMAR SARMA : Sir, we have to attend a meeting tomorrow morning at 9.30 A.M. Two Members have to attend. Please consider our names so that we can go early.



SHRI D.P. YADAV

[Translation]

SHRI D.P. YADAV (Sambhal) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, at the outset. I would like to offer all my sentiments to the memory of those gallant and brave sons of the country who sacrificed their lives at the altar of freedom to enable the country and us to breathe in freedom. While all this is a matter of glory and pride in itself, there were certain expectations and aspirations which the inhabitants of this country had hoped to fulfil on attaining freedom, it is but natural that the people, the gallant sons of the country have a feeling, a pious thinking with regard to freedom and on my part, do feel, although I have not been a witness to that phase of the independence struggle, yet have certainly read about it and come to think that those who sacrificed their lives for the country's independence must have had the pious thinking that as soon as the country attained freedom, the entire deprived, dispossessed and poor sections, the farmers, the backward people inhabiting the country, its villages and the people residing in the countryside who strengthen the society and the country being inseparable from the mainstream and by dint of their hard labour will be having a due share in the fruits of independence.

Sir, I would not say that achievements have not been there. A number of them are before the country. Sir, it is said that way to the country's prosperity lies through the agricultural fields and granaries, if it is so, then I would like to say that after independence the farmers have not had the share which was their due. Even today when we look at backward areas inhabited by them, then we realise as to what has been the share, the gains and the losses of those who made sacrifices for the sake of freedom? Today the most important issue is that after independence the Government did not arrange to provide education where even elementary education was absent and which needed to be spread in every village steeped in ignorance and darkness. This serious omission has been on the part of those on whose shoulders came the responsibility of the entire country after independence.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, although I have not been able to go through the entire length and breadth of the country, yet I have seen the condition of most of the villages of Uttar Pradesh. I do not talk of remote areas, but my own Constituency lies at a distance of just 150 Kms. from here and I have had the opportunity to traverse through it. I am fully convinced to tell you that inspite of the official figures meant only to draw applause, primary education is absent even amongst clusters of say, ten or five villages. I can say that we have not been able to provide education to labourers and farmers in the villages even after 50 years of independence. Then what is the meaning of this independence? The farmer who provides food to people and whose children safeguard the borders with guns in their hands has to run to a patwari with the letter he receives to have the same read by the latter. It is a very unfortunate thing.

Now I am going to raise a point which several parties have been avoiding to raise. They are afraid that if they raise a single finger against somebody 4 fingers would be raised against them. The august House has been holding a discussion on the history of criminals since 1971. Loud talks have been made about criminalisation of politics. If incarceration is a certificate of crime we have to review the history of India whether mere incarceration makes one a criminal. Here many a hon. Member went to jail, but what were the reasons for that. The police record will also show that some people have became criminals due to the police filing a false cases against them. Whether those who transferred the hard-earned money of poor people and labourers to foreign countries through "hawala" not be included in the category of criminals? Today, on this solemn occasion of the Golden Jubilee of Indian independence we have to review this aspect and hold a debate on this subject with a healthy tradition.

05.00 hrs.

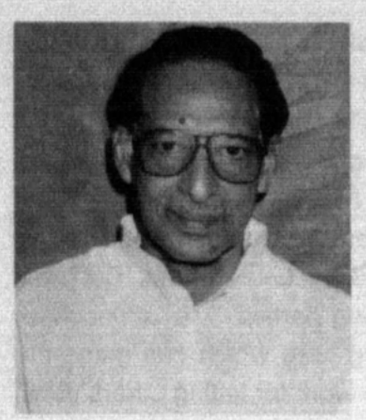
Although I know that, I am also no exception to this, but I am not going to support the criminals, rather I support the people whose names have been entered in police records due to political rivalry or false grounds. Should we take a decision that the people who waged a war against social evils are criminals and send them to jail, make a record and say that representative of such and such area is a criminal. There have been instances when people won the elections or got elected while in jail under the democratic system. There can be no bigger proof of people's participation in democracy than this one. So even after 50 years of independence there are a number of untouched issues which should be taken up by the Parliament. There are several such issues on which the Parliament should take a decision. Earlier I used to be an MLA. I was under the impression that if and when I get a chance to get elected to Parliament, I would get a chance to speak on issues concerning the whole country. I thought that the ideals and conventions followed by Parliament would be better than those which are followed in State Legislatures. But after coming here I find rivalry among parties. The atmosphere is not healthy. There is nothing here which can guide the people. On the contrary people work for letting others down and say nasty things about others. We are not doing anything to give new directions to other people by making social reform. We are not doing anything how to give new thoughts to society. Instead parties are engaged in criticizing each others and casting reprehensible aspersions on others.

Sir, on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee, the august House has to uphold conventions which will be remembered in the history. What the people who made sacrifices for the country's independence might be thinking now. There souls must be in great pains and thinking whether their next generation will honour the sacrifices they made and uphold the traditions they established.

Sir, one can see discontentment spreading through the length and breadth of the country. There is discontentment among the youth who are unemployed. They are bewildered and misled and not able to find the right path. Who will rectify this situation? Who will think about it. We have to see if anything is wanting among our leaders who are giving directives to the country. Why did not they show a right path to our youth without which they are experiencing the bitter taste of unemployment. The farmers are also in difficulty. Not to speak of villages, in big cities also people coming in search of labour are in great difficulty. They have no food to eat, no home to live in and no clothes to wear. Today, the whole country is experiencing this difficulty.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am very much thankful to you for giving me an opportunity to speak. I shall conclude after making a submission. The farmers and the labourers are the backbone of this country. They have to be provided strength. If the farmers and labourers are not prosperous, the country cannot prosper. So far as the people who struggled for self respect are concerned, I shall say this much only for them:

Yahan toofan hai dariyai,
Saphine har dar per rahate hain,
Hamara hausala dekho,
Ham us ghar main rahate hain.



DR. M.P. JAISWAL

DR. M.P. JAISWAL (Bettiah) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, at the midnight stroke of 12 O'clock on August 15, 1947, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru had said, 'when the world is asleep, India is awakening to freedom'. I have been sitting in the House since 11 a.m. and it is now five minutes past five O'clock in the morning, *i.e.* when the whole of India is about to awake, I have got the opportunity to articulate myself in front of you. Regarding the time allotted to me today I was thinking that those who spoke for one hour each during day time.....

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please do not go into such things.

[Translation]

Please come to the point.

DR. M.P. JAISWAL : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am not pinpointing anybody. I am very much to the point. I hail from Champaran district situated on a northern most corner enroute to Nepal when I came to the House and saw Mahatma Gandhi's statue opposite Gate No. 1, I was reminded of the time when Mahatma Gandhi had visited Champaran as Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi and had launched a movement there which led to the country's freedom. The statue of Gandhiji placed in front of the main door of the House appears to be in a posture which depicts him as neither sitting on Anshan nor sleeping, rather weeping. I can clearly see him weeping when I go by the number of good persons as well as historysheeters in the House. When our Chief Election Commissioner comes out with the statement that as many as 40 sitting Members of the House are historysheeters, one does start feeling as if Gandhiji would be crying over this degeneration of the country's freedom for which he had made struggle. Mr. Chairman, Sir, Gandhiji led major part of his life only semi-clad in just half-piece of Dhoti. The credit for that also goes to Champaran. When he came to Champaran leaving behind 'Ba' she started meeting people and went door to door and during the course of her visit she met a woman who had came out to receive her and Ba asked her if she was all alone in the House the woman replied that her daughter-in-law was inside then Ba asked her why did she not come out? Does she observe pardah? To this query the woman replied that they had only one sari in the house wearing which she had come out to meet her and her daughter-in-law would be able to come out only when she (the woman) goes inside and gives her the Sari. Such a plight of the people was narrated by Ba to Gandhiji who then decided to renounce his clothes in deference to the plight of the semi-clad and starving people of the country. Gandhiji who used to wear suit and flaunt tie till then led rest of his life wearing only a Dhoti.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would also like to say something about the dignity of the House. I have been directed by my party to speak on the financial position only. Therefore, I would speak on that only. I would go back to 21 August, 1963. In this very House when the controversy of five Annas versus fifteen annas arose, then Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia had said in his maiden speech in the House, I would like to quote a few lines from the speech delivered at the time of No Confidence Motion against Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru Government albeit in a different way. Our national income in the year 1948 was to the tune of eight thousand and five hundred crores, which has now risen to nearly thirteen thousand and five hundred crores in the same proportion. Now, we may be told as to where has that income of ours which rose by Rupees Five thousand crore gone? Figures in regard there to are available.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to tell you that the total expenditure for the year 1948 was Rs. one thousand crore. The figure has now risen to Rs. 5500 crore. The number of Government servants who constituted 1.5 per cent of the population previously, have now grown to nearly three per cent. Had these Government servants contributed towards increasing production, I would have had no objection, but these pen-pushers are Government servants good only for filling papers but unable to increase production. In the same speech he had said, as has been said by a Member of the Planning Commission also, that the result is that 60 per cent of Indian population lives on a merely sum of Rs. 25/-. That is to say 27 crore people make their both ends meet. On a daily pittance of just three Annas. I wish that this be always kept in mind that 27 crores of the people

live on a paltry three Annas a day. While Rs. three are spent daily on the upkeep of the domestic dog of the Prime Minister. I am giving only moderate figures lest I may be caught at my word. These were the views expressed by Lohiaji in this very House.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, what is the condition today. Today 36 crore of the people of India live below the poverty line, unable to get two square meals a day. The value of five Annas or three Annas of 1963 comes to about Rs. 3 at the receding value of rupee. 36 crore of the people are unable to incur an expenditure of even five rupees per head. Today even certain people are making their both ends meet on just Rs. one per day. They are sometimes unable to get two square meals. It is indeed painful to see people leading such a pitiable life in the present industrial set up in the country.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, we have talked about corruption here. Our Prime Minister has said we will launch Satyagrah. But who will launch this Satyagrah and for whom, is beyond my comprehension. Our P.M. today is adorning chair once occupied by great leaders. Talk of Satyagrah is currently going on. Who will do it and against whom? Whether Satyagrah will be staged before Queen Elizabeth lamenting the rampant corruption in our country? Our heads hang in shame when we see, think and hear BBC London announcing 'now we move on to India, the land of scandals'. We are ashamed of our country being called a land of scandals in the world, India being termed as one of the eight most corrupt nations in the world. I really feel ashamed of it.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to mention that corruption is not a new phenomenon. It was there during the British regime also. But a system operated then what is now known as corruption. The system was that a Dalia full of fruits with a bottle of Whisky or Scotch or any other liquor used to be sent to the officer's wife and its acceptance was taken to mean that the sender's job will be done. This system was followed by another in which under the table acceptance of money became the practice. Under the third stage in such dealings—people started taking money out of the givers' pockets. Under the fourth stage that followed people started giving money in briefcases. Under stage five—suitcases started changing hands. Under the sixth stage in that row people started looting money directly from the public exchequer. Whether it may be in the shape of fodder scandal, urea scandal, coal-tar scandal, medical drugs scandal, uniform scandal or the muster-roll scandal operating in the Government services. Of late, instances of muster-roll scandal have come to light in Bihar. Similar scandal has come to light in Bengal. Public exchequers are being looted. Whether the Government has no way to eradicate corruption in the book keeping system in the country. The Prime Minister exhorts us to stage Satyagrah. If he himself resorts to this, then one fails to understand what will be the shape of things to come.

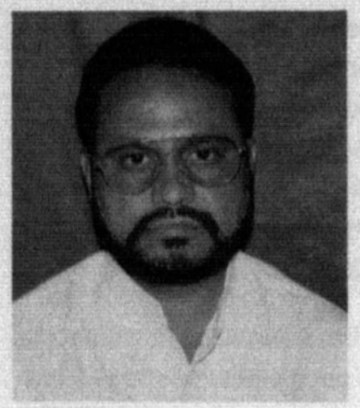
Mr. Chairman, Sir, injustice has been done to the people whose money was looted by the people like Harshad Mehta. Thousands of crores of rupees of the public was looted in the security scam but what has happened. After being released from the jail, his cars were auctioned. One day it was shown on T.V. that a total of Rs. 44 lakhs were received in the auction of all the cars. How will the payment of thousands of crores of rupees due to people be made. Therefore, I am putting forward concrete proposal in this regard that such economic offenders should be given capital punishment. Unless they get capital punishment, such offences would continue to rise.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, what is the state of our financial position today? There was a time when we boycotted the foreign goods at the call of Gandhiji. We boycotted their goods by burning the foreign goods. Then came the time of privatisation. Public Undertakings came into existence what has happened to them today. All those undertakings have failed. Now we are inviting the foreign companies and asking them to give us Chips and Coca-Cola. Now-a-days, whenever there is Cricket match, it appears as if it is not a match between India and Pakistan, but between Pepsi and Coca-Cola.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude.

DR. M.P. JAISWAL : Mr. Chairman, Sir, such things are happening. There are marked inequalities and looting has been going on. I know there are such families in Delhi in which children are given amounts to the extent of Rs. 10 thousand and they are asked to spend it in Hotels at night. The economic offences are increasing in the country. On the one hand, people are not getting even food and on the other hand, some people are spending lavishly. It is a very critical situation. We will also have to think about 36 crore people who are living below poverty line.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I express my gratitude towards you because the day I made by maiden speech in this House, you were in the Chair and today when I am making my second speech, you are in the Chair. I express my gratitude to you and the House.



SHRI ANANDRAO VITHOBA ADSUL

SHRI ANANDRAO VITHOBA ADSUL (Buldhana) : Hon'ble Chairman, Sir, it is the fourth day of this Special Session from this mid-night and I am thankful to you that you have given me an opportunity to express my views on this occasion.

The Hon'ble Speaker has convened this Special Session on the occasion of 50 years of India's Independence with his 15 months experience in Lok Sabha. The time is telling that change is necessary. This is the time for thinking within the parties. However, what I have been hearing for the last four days indicate that the rehearsal for the coming Lok Sabha elections has started. Therefore, all Members of Parliament are trying to put-forth their views before the people of their country. The main purpose of calling this Session was to analyse the achievements and failures of last fifty years and decide something new for future, but it appears something different. Shri Choubeyji told me that perhaps this Session would be over tomorrow, but it does not appear to me that it would benefit in any way. He has also expressed similar apprehensions. It is also wrong to presume that whenever Kesariji wished to withdraw support, the support would be withdrawn. When we get up in the morning, we read the newspaper. We know how difficult it is to win the election. When we know that the support is not withdrawn, only then we enjoy tea. We feel satisfaction that at least that day has gone by. I would tell you why such things come to our mind? There was United Front Government led by Deve Gowda. One day I was awakened by my wife and she told me that our Government had fallen. She added that she heard on T.V. that Kesariji had withdrawn support. We have developed such a feeling that this Government can go any time. At the time of the discussion on the Confidence Motion brought by Deve Gowdaji, the scene was similar to that of stripping off clothes of Draupadi. There was no big Leader of the Congress who could rise to speak whether withdrawing support was right or wrong. It may be due to their helplessness. No big leader of the Congress participated in the discussion at that time. I want to put forth my views before you in the light of present circumstances.

One of the freedom fighters, Lokmanya Tilak had given a slogan—"Freedom is my birth-right and I shall have it." It is the law of nature that every creature that comes on the earth wants to lead life at his or her own will. We are human beings and we have different thinking. Many freedom fighters like Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Nehru, Sardar Patel, Rajendra Babu etc. fought the battle of freedom and got freedom for India.

We are celebrating the Golden Jubilee of Independence this year. This is being celebrated with great fanfare. India became republic on January 26, 1950. Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar made the Constitution. It is provided in the Constitution that the Government of the people, by the people and for the people would work for the welfare of the people. We are proud of the fact that ours is the largest democracy in the world. But we should also think over our achievements and failures of the last fifty years. My friends in the Congress Party tried to count there many achievements during this period. It is true, but what is our condition today? This question is also before us. This is the right occasion to consider it in this Special Session. Fifty years is not a small period of consideration as to why the question of achievements and failures comes up before us.

I want to give an example. A male body is born in the family of a poor man and another male body is born in the family of a rich man. Both of them grew up together, but later they feel difference between them. Therefore, if we have made some progress, it is to be seen whether that much progress has been made which should have been achieved. No one claims that no progress has been made. Progress has been made, but it is not as much as was required. We should find an answer to the question whether the money allocated for a particular work was actually spent on that or whether it went into the pocket of someone.

The Hon'ble Speaker has said in his speech:—

[English]

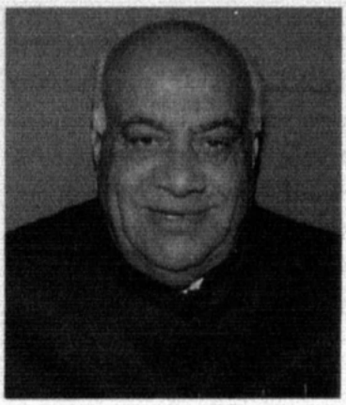
"Our style of practicing democracy has also proved that political consciousness is not necessarily a function of literacy."

[Translation]

Therefore, I am trying to put forth my views on democracy. Our 60 per cent population is illiterate. But this population know the value of democracy and moreover, they believe in it. We should not forget this fact. Our leader Atalji has said that the people of this country washed off the stigma of the year 1975-76, in the year 1977. It was also said that the persons dealing a blow on to the democracy would not

be forgiven. The people of this country are very wise. Now the time has come for a change. Now a single party is not able to form Government at the Centre or in States. It is the time for forming coalition Government by taking all together. Therefore, we should also think about forming a national Government. We should develop a new system within democracy.

With these words, I conclude.



SHRI MANGAT RAM SHARMA

SHRI MANGAT RAM SHARMA (Jammu) : Hon'ble Mr. Chairman, Sir and Hon'ble Members, I consider myself fortunate for having got the opportunity to speak at the special session of the Parliament being held to celebrate fiftieth anniversary of Independence. I would also like to thank all those people who elected me to this House. I pay homage to all he great men who sacrified their lives to help us gain freedom and I also salute those freedom fighters who have passed away as well as those who are amidst us having survived the ordeal. This session was concerted to take stock of our achievements and failures. What was desired was that we should have described our achievements here and the members of the opposition as well as the ruling parties should have given suggestions regarding turning our failures and achievements. But I feel that we have not proceeded accordingly. My colleagues have raised several other issues here and I fail to understand the justification thereof. It was not appropriate to raise such points at this occasion. I would like to submit that when we got Independence and the 50-60 years old members present here are well aware as to what we have achieved and what we have lost. Some people in cities, villages and town tend to demoralise others and adopt a negative stance and say that nothing has been done. It is all scam and no progress has taken place. I feel that those of the age group of 50-70 years should speak earnestly. They should tell us as to what was the conditions of villages, towns and cities. When we got freedom, we were in quite a bad state. I would like to tell you about my own area. There was no road for commuting and there was no district level High School and Examination centre was located in another state. I am telling you about the time when I was taking Matriculation Examination. Now Punjab and Haryana have claimed that each and every village in the state has the facility of power, and metalled roads. They have got schools, colleges and universities. Progress has definitely been made. Is it not our duty to speak about the achievements made? Is it not our duty to submit that the freedom struggle was launched under the auspices of Congress Party? Does not any credit go to the Congress Party for this? I am not saying that those who are present here, were not a part of the freedom struggle. I simply want to ask as to which party did Mahatama Gandhi, Subhash Chandra Bose, Sardar Patel, Lal Bahadur Shastri, Maulana Azad belong to? Those who formulated five years plan and set up big factories and dams were from Congress party. When these dams were constructed, the whole nation said that Nehru's policy was very good. Did not Indian appreciate the Non-Aligned Movement launched by Nehruji? Can a 15 years old party have any idea of achievements made in 50 years. It can only talk about what has happened in 15 years. Those who have changed the name of the party 18 times, can only speak about their experience of 15 years.

I would like to make a request that this is a national day, hence we should rise above the party lives. We should speak about the Five Year Plans and Non-Aligned movement initiated by Nehruji. We should talk about as to how Indira ji abolished the Privy Purse system and how Sardar Patel helped include 500 riyasat in Republic of India. But we have forgotten all this and only talk about scandals. Which party is not involved in scandal? Scandal is a bitter reality. The way things are being handled and the strictness with which all are being dealt, will definitely go a long way in rooting out all scandals. We should launch a crusade against the scandals and the criminals. I have an objection to a point made by Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee. In this speech, he stated that when a criminal is the contestant the other party is forced to pit another criminal against him in elections .....*(Interruptions)*. You may raise this point after going through the record .....*(Interruptions)* I did not like the tone of his speech you may go through the records. If I am found to be telling a lie, I'll take back my words but if my statement turns out to be true, you will have to admit.

SHRI RAJENDRA AGNIHOTRI (Jhansi) : My submission is that he is not speaking the truth.

SHRI MANGAT RAM SHARMA : I did not find it befitting of him to use such words. Banks were nationalised and thereafter poor people started getting loans. Land reforms took place as result of which Harijans got the land. Congress has done all this. Today, Kanshi Ram claims to be well-wisher of Harijans. Congress has struggled to abolish

untouchability. Can we omit this fact? Are you not partners in this progress? Today it is being said that misappropriation was done by this or that person. Have you been able to bring 'Ram-Rajya' (absolute peace) in the states where you are the ruling party? Whether scams and misappropriations are not taking place in those States? Kindly tell us about model of 'Ram Rajya'. Which State can boast of having 'Ram-Rajya'? This matter should be considered in this context. I would like to make a submission that we all should rise above party level to remove the social inequalities prevailing in the society. Poverty and unemployment have increased. We should also think about welfare of farmers and women. Assistance should be provided to minorities, backwards, scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. It is the duty of Hindu majority to help minority communities. It is the duty of elder person of a family to lookafter the house hold and persuade the erring person of the family. It is not appropriate that elder person keep on doubting erring family members and weaken the whole family. I belong to Hindu Community. I would like to say that this country cannot make any progress till Hindu Community do justice to minorities, tribal, Scheduled castes and Scheduled tribes. Measures should be taken for strengthening the country.

I would like to remind that Pakistan attacked thrice on Kashmir. It is a part and parcel of India and a lot of development have taken place in our state during these years. We have made a lot of progress in spite of various obstacles related by Pakistan. Recently two Prime Ministers have given assurance that action will be taken for development of Jammu and Kashmir and loss suffered by the State during last six-seven years will be compensated. But I would like to know as to what action has been taken so far in this regard, except only laying foundation stone for a railway line. So far Jammu and Kashmir has not been accorded status of 'B' category. Neither agricultural university has been set up there nor 'poonchh and Rajouri' have been accorded status of tribal dominated area. Steps have not been taken for removing unemployment in the State. The files of refugees, who came to India in 1947 from Pakistan and Chhamb are still lying pending. I request the Central Government to help the state of Jammu and Kashmir in the same way as has been done in the case of Punjab because J&K has been ruined by Pakistan. The loan of J&K should be written off so that the state could be developed. My friends are advocating abrogation of Article 370. Farooq Abdullah has a plan for economic development of the state. But this is not the proper time for this purpose. We have to fight against Pakistan to create peace in this country. This issue can be taken up latter on in the interest of the country and the state.

With these words I pay my homage to the martyrs who sacrificed their lives during the freedom struggle. I join Atal Bihari Vajpayeeji's words that we all should think collectively and rise above the party-lines to tackle national issues. Electoral reforms and Government funding for elections should be introduced. Every political party should try to avoid involvement of criminals in party activities, then only our country can make progress.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : We have 21 Members more in the list. I think, after waiting for the whole night, all the Members should get time to speak in the House. Even though there is a time constraint and separate lists are submitted by the parties for tomorrow, time will be given to all the 21 Members who are present in the House today. I have made the list including all the Members who are present in the House. I need not read out the list but at least, five minutes' time will be given to each Member present in the House today. We will be taxing our officers and staff too much if we sit beyond now as it is already 5.40 a.m. now.

So, the House stands adjourned to meet again at 11 a.m.

05.39 hrs. (29.8.97)

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock.